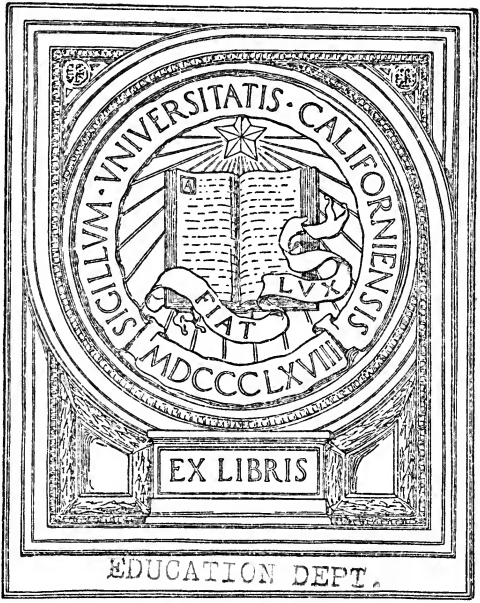
UC-NRLF
$B 266 547



EDUCATION DEPT.

John M Faris

Book June 18

J. M. Faris

PREMIUM HISTORY.

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

FROM THEIR

FIRST SETTLEMENT AS COLONIES,

TO THE

CLOSE OF THE WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN IN 1815.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

QUESTIONS,

ADAPTED TO THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

"Civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit."—*Sallust.*

NEW-YORK:

STEREOTYPED BY GEORGE B. LOTHIAN.

PUBLISHED BY COLLINS AND HANNAY, 230 PEARL-STREET.

1829.

WILLIAM E. DEAN, PRINTER.

E178
.1
H3
1829
Educ.
Dept.

EDUCATION DEPT.

Southern District of New-York, ss

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the 22d day of August, in the 50th year of the independence of the United States of America, Charles Wiley, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a book the right wherefore he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

History of the United States, from their First Settlement as Colonies, to the close of the War with Great Britain, in 1815.

"Civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit."—*Sallust.*

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned" And also to an Act, entitled "An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

JAMES DILL, *Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.*

At a meeting of the American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres, held at the City-Hall, in the city of New-York, October 20, 1820,—Hon. Brockholst Livingston, First Vice President, in the chair; Rev. John B. Romeyn, D. D. Clerk,—the following preamble and resolution, offered by W. S. Cardell, Esq. seconded by the Rev. Doctor Wainwright, were unanimously adopted:

As the proper education of youth is, in all communities closely connected with national prosperity and honor; and as it is particularly important in the United States, that the rising generation should possess a correct knowledge of their own country, and a patriotic attachment to its welfare;—

Resolved, that a premium of not less than four hundred dollars, and a gold medal worth fifty dollars, be given to the author, being an American citizen, who, within two years, shall produce the best written history of the United States, and which, with such history, shall contain a suitable exposition of the situation, character, and interests, absolute and relative, of the American Republic: calculated for a class-book in academies and schools. This work is to be examined and approved by a committee of the institution, in reference to the interest of its matter, the justness of its facts and principles, the purity, perspicuity, and elegance of its style, and its adaptation to its intended purpose.

By order of the Academy,

ALEX. Mc LEOD, Rec'g. Sec'ry.

The undersigned, being appointed a committee with full powers to examine the several works submitted, and award the medal and premium in pursuance of the above resolution, having perused four books offered by different authors, according to the conditions required, have selected one as being the best of the four; and after referring it to its author for such minor corrections as might render it more acceptable to the public, do now finally adjudge said medal and premium to be due to the writer of the work recently printed, entitled,

"A History of the United States, from their first Settlement as Colonies, to the close of the War with Great Britain, in 1815.

"Civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adepta libertate. quantum brevi creverit."—*Sallust.*

WM. P. VAN NESS,
ALEXR. Mc LEOD, } Committee.
JACOB MORTON.

M209516

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Introduction	7
History of Virginia	15
Massachusetts	26
New-Hampshire	55
Connecticut	59
Rhode Island	66
New-York	68
New-Jersey	84
Delaware	87
Pennsylvania	89
Maryland	93
North-Carolina	96
South-Carolina	100
Georgia	105
French War of 1756-63	110
Revolution	126
Revolution	139
Expedition against Canada	159
Campaign of 1776	169
Campaign of 1777	179
Campaign of 1778	189
Campaign of 1779	194
Campaign of 1780	198
Campaign of 1781, and termination of the War	206
Adoption of the Constitution, and Washington's Administration	218
Mr. Adams's, Mr. Jefferson's, and part of Mr. Madison's Administration—Declaration of War	237
Campaign of 1812	253
Campaign of 1813	259
Campaign of 1814—Conclusion of the War	272
Appendix	284

PREFACE.

THE following work was begun many years since: the appearance, soon after, of several books, on a plan nearly similar, and the want of sufficient leisure, induced the Author to relinquish his design. Perceiving, from the subsequent offer of a premium for the best written work of the kind, that another was wanted, he resumed and completed his undertaking.

It was his purpose to present a correct and interesting narrative of all the important events in the history of his country: to exhibit, in a strong light, the principles of political and religious freedom which our forefathers professed, and for which they fought and conquered; to record the numerous examples of fortitude, courage, and patriotism, which have rendered them illustrious; and to produce, not so much by moral reflections, as by the tenor of the narrative, virtuous and patriotic impressions upon the mind of the reader. It was his aim to render the book worthy to be read, not only in the academies and schools of his country, but by that very numerous portion of his fellow citizens, who have seldom the opportunity to peruse more voluminous productions; and by those who might wish to review their studies, and fix in their memory the succession of events: and it was also his aim to exhibit a style which should be correct and pure; should be free from ambitious ornament, and from those faults with which the writers of this country have been too justly charged. He by no means supposes that he has accomplished all he aimed at.

It was thought indispensible that a history, intended to be accessible to all, should contain some account of the

different states of the union; in order that many prejudices, the offspring of ignorance, might be removed; and that the injurious effects, which must flow from an acquaintance with the history of a single state only, might be avoided. It was the correct remark of an able writer, that the history of colonies generally affords but two interesting eras, that of their settlement, and that of their independence. To both of these the author has more particularly directed his attention.

Let those who imagine that no book can do good that is not a great book, consider that every American should be acquainted with the history of his country, and that a voluminous history would not be read by one twentieth part of the population; that, on most minds, the same or even stronger impressions would be made by a work well written on the plan of this, than by a minute, and of course often tedious, detail of every event; that the perusal of such a work, in early life, must excite rather than gratify curiosity; that much, very much good would be done, should a knowledge of the important events be communicated, and correct impressions be given, to those who would otherwise remain entirely ignorant: and that, in fact, this book contains more than many an octavo of high price.

But while it is important that no American citizen should be ignorant of the principal events in the history of his country, it is the indispensible duty of all, who can enjoy the opportunity, to read and to study the larger and more particular histories which have been published.

There is little danger that this small and favored class will neglect this duty. The danger is greater, that much the most numerous portion of the population—that portion in whose hands are the destinies of the republic—would read nothing on the subject should expensive works only be published.

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

INTRODUCTION.

THE continent of America was probably unknown to the ancients. If once known, as some have supposed, to the Carthaginians, the Scandinavians, and the Welsh, all knowledge of it was afterwards lost. The discovery of this extensive region, constituting nearly one half of the habitable globe, was the accidental result of the attempts, made in the fifteenth century, to find a passage, by sea, from the ports of Europe to the East Indies, whose precious commodities were then transported, over land, by a long, dangerous, and expensive route.

2. This passage was universally sought by sailing south, along the western coasts of Europe and Africa, in the hope of finding the termination of the continent, when the Indies, it was supposed, might be attained, by taking at first an easterly and then a northerly course. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1487, encouraged expectation, and gave increased activity to the spirit of adventure.

3. Among the navigators of that age, Christopher Columbus, a native of the republic of Genoa, was distinguished for experience and skill in his profession, for extensive knowledge, and for a bold and original genius. The shape of the earth, then known to be round, and the fact that pieces of carved wood, a canoe, and two human bodies, of a complexion different from that of Europeans, had been driven, by long westerly winds, upon the shores of islands contiguous to Europe, suggested to his observing mind the project of seeking the East Indies by sailing directly west.

4. Unable to defray the expenses of an expedition, he sought first the assistance of his native city. His countrymen, accustomed only to cruising, in frail vessels, along the shores of the continent, treated the project as chimerical, and declined furnishing aid. A pressing application to the king of Portugal, in whose dominions he had resided, met likewise with ridicule and rejection. Persevering in his purpose, he then sent his brother, Bartholomew, to England, to apply to Henry VII, and went himself to Spain, which was then governed by Ferdinand and Isabella, from whom he solicited assistance.

5. For a long time he solicited in vain. At length the queen persuaded by his representations, became his friend and patron. By her directions, three small vessels were fitted out, and he was authorised to sail with these upon his projected voyage of discovery. On the third of August, 1492, he departed from Palos, in Spain, directing his course towards the Canary Islands.

6. He stopped there to refit, and, on the sixth of September, boldly adventured into seas which no vessel had yet entered, with no chart to direct him, no guide but his compass, and without any knowledge of the tides or currents which might interrupt his course. He moved rapidly before the trade wind, which blows invariably from the east to the west between the tropics, judiciously concealing from his ignorant and timid crews the progress he made, lest they might be alarmed at the speed with which they receded from home.

7. About the fourteenth of September, he was distant nearly six hundred miles from the most westerly of the Canaries, and here the magnetic needle was observed to vary from its direction to the polar star, and incline towards the west; an appearance which, although now familiar, had never before been observed.

8. Columbus and his companions were alarmed. They were far from land, and far from the tracks of other navigators. All before and around them was unknown, and their only guide seemed to be no longer entitled to their confidence. But although alarmed, Columbus lost not his presence of mind. He assigned a reason for the variation, which, without satisfying himself, silenced the murmurs of his companions.

9. But the interval of quiet and subordination was short. Disaffection soon reappeared among the ignorant and wavering, and, gradually spreading, at length pervaded the

whole squadron. The men blamed their sovereign for listening to the schemes of a dreaming adventurer. The indications of land had all proved fallacious. They would be amused and deceived no longer. They agreed that Columbus should be forced to relinquish an undertaking which seemed to promise nothing but destruction; and some of the more daring talked of throwing him into the sea, as a visionary projector, whose death would cause no regret, and produce no inquiry.

10. Amidst these difficulties, Columbus displayed those traits of character which proved the greatness of his mind, and his peculiar fitness for the arduous duties of his station. He appeared with a steady and cheerful countenance, as if satisfied with what he had done. Sometimes he soothed his companions by holding out to them a prospect of riches and of fame, and by offering a gratuity to him who should first discover land. Sometimes he assumed a tone of authority, threatening them with the vengeance of their sovereign, and everlasting infamy, should they compel him to abandon the undertaking.

11. These encouragements and threats prevented open and forcible resistance to his authority. Meanwhile the squadron proceeded onward; the indications of land had become frequent, and convinced him that it could not be far distant. But his crew were unconvinced, and their discontent increased. Assembling tumultuously on deck, they demanded to be conducted back to Spain. As a last expedient, he proposed that they should continue on their course three days longer, and if, in that time, land should not be discovered, he would then comply with their demand.

12. They consented. Before the time expired, Columbus, on the 11th of October, at midnight, saw a light glimmering at a distance. "A light! a light!" was the joyful exclamation, which instantly resounded through the squadron. On the approach of morning, all hands stood gazing intently in the direction where land, it was expected, would be discovered.

13. Soon, on board the Pinta, the most forward vessel, was heard the cry of "Land! land!" which was repeated, with almost frantic delight, by the crews of the other vessels. Passing from one extreme to the other, they, who a few days before had reviled and insulted their commander, now regarded him as one whom the Deity had endowed with knowledge and penetration above the common lot of mortals.

14. At sunrise, Columbus, in a rich and splendid dress, landed, and, with a drawn sword in his hand, and displaying the royal standard, took possession of the island for the crown of Spain, all his followers kneeling on the shore and kissing the ground with tears of joy. The natives, who had assembled in great numbers on the first appearance of the ships, stood around the Spaniards, gazing in speechless astonishment.

15. "The Europeans were hardly less amazed at the scene before them. Every herb, and shrub, and tree was different from those which flourished in Europe. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked. Their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders or was bound in tresses around their heads. Though not tall, they were well shaped and active. They were shy at first, through fear, but soon became familiar with the Spaniards; from whom, with transports of joy, they received various trinkets, for which in return they gave such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value they could produce."

16. To this island Columbus gave the name of San Salvador. The natives called it Guanahani, and by that name it is now known. It is one of the Bahama isles, and is above three thousand miles from Gomera, the most western of the Canaries. From the poverty and ignorance of the inhabitants, Columbus was convinced that he had not yet arrived at the rich country which was the object of his search. Leaving Guanahani, he discovered and visited several other islands, and at length arrived at one called Hayti, and by him Hispaniola. Here he remained a few weeks, and then returned to Spain.

17. The news of his wonderful discovery filled the kingdom with astonishment and joy. His reception at court was accompanied by flattering and splendid ceremonies ordained for the occasion; and he was honored by many proofs of royal favor. He made three subsequent voyages, and, in 1498, discovered the continent of America, at the mouth of the Oronoco, a river of the third or fourth magnitude in the New World, but far surpassing the largest in the Old.

18. The honor, however of first discovering the continent, must, without diminishing the merit of Columbus, be given to John Cabot and his son Sebastian. They were Venetians by birth, but, soon after the result of the first voyage of Columbus was known, were sent, by the king

of England, on an expedition of discovery, in the same direction. In June, 1497, they arrived at the island of Newfoundland, in North America, and, proceeding westward, soon after reached the continent. It being their object also to find a direct passage to the East Indies, they first sailed northwardly in search of it, as far as the 57th degree of latitude; then, returning, cruised along the coast to East Florida; and thence sailed to England without having made any settlement. Upon the discoveries made in this voyage the English founded their claim to the eastern portion of North America.

19. In 1499, Alonza de Ojeda, a companion of Columbus in his first expedition, sailing under the patronage of several Portuguese merchants, discovered the continent at Paria, in the 5th degree of north latitude. Americus Vespucius, a Florentine gentleman who accompanied him, published, on his return, an account of the voyage and a description of the country which they had visited; and from him it derives the name it bears.

20. In 1504, several adventurous navigators, from different parts of France, came, in small vessels, to fish on the banks of Newfoundland. In 1524, John Verrazzano, a Florentine, in the employment of the king of France, sailed along the coast of America, from Florida to the 50th degree of north latitude. He is supposed to have entered the harbour of New-York. He made, the next year, another voyage, from which he never returned, nor is it known by what disaster he perished.

21. During the next forty years, frequent voyages were made to the coast of North America. Of some, the object was fishing; of others, trade with the natives. In 1540, the French made an attempt to plant a colony in Canada, which was unsuccessful.

22. The religious wars which afflicted France in the sixteenth century, induced that illustrious statesman, Jasper Coligni, the head of the Protestant sect, to project, in 1502, a settlement in America, to which his brethren might retire from the persecution of the Catholics. Fitting out two ships, he sent them thither under the command of John Ribaut, who landed at a place supposed to be within the limits of South Carolina, built a fort, left a part of his men, and returned to France.

23. The men who were left, soon after mutinied, killed their commander, built and equipped a vessel and put to sea. Having been out several weeks and consumed all

their provisions, one of their number, who consented to be made a victim to save his comrades, was killed and eaten. A few days afterwards, they were taken up by an English vessel and carried to England. This was the first attempt to plant a colony within the limits of the United States; and it is worthy of remark, that to secure an asylum from religious persecution was the object in view. Coligni afterwards sent a party to Florida, who were treacherously massacred by the Spaniards.

24. In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, having received from queen Elizabeth a grant of such "remote, heathen, and barbarous lands" as he might discover and occupy, fitted out a squadron of five ships, and sailed for America. On arriving before St. John, in Newfoundland, he found thirty-six vessels fishing in the harbor. He landed and took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign. On his return to England, he suffered shipwreck and perished.

25. The next year, Sir Walter Raleigh, distinguished in the history of England as a gallant knight and as the favorite of the queen, obtained a renewal of the patent granted to Sir Humphrey, who was his half brother, and despatched to America two ships commanded by captains Amidas and Barlow. They first landed on an island in the inlet to Pamplico sound, then proceeded to the isle of Roanoke at the mouth of Albemarle sound, in North Carolina, and at both places were treated with great respect by the natives.

26. Having freighted their ships with furs, sassafras, and cedar, they returned to England, where they published marvellous accounts of the beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate, and the innocence of the natives. The queen was so charmed with the description, that, as a memorial that the country had been discovered during the reign of a virgin queen, she called it Virginia.

27. The next year, Raleigh sent from England seven vessels, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, and carrying upwards of one hundred persons, destined to begin a settlement. They were left under Ralph Lane, on Roanoke island. The success of the Spaniards in finding gold in South America, led these adventurers to employ their time in a fruitless search for it here. In 1586, they were visited by Sir Francis Drake, who, at their request, conveyed them back to England. Lane carrying home a

quantity of tobacco, the Indian custom of smoking it was adopted by Raleigh, a man of gaiety and fashion, and introduced at court.

28. Soon after Drake departed, Grenville again arrived with provisions for the settlement. Finding it abandoned, he left fifteen men to keep possession of the country. In 1587, three other ships were sent to the same place, but the men who had been left could not be found, having probably been murdered by the savages. After remaining a few weeks on the coast, the ships returned to England, leaving one hundred and seventeen men on the island. War then existing between England and Spain, two years elapsed before the coast was again visited. In that period the whole number perished; but in what manner has never been ascertained. Thus ended the exertions of Raleigh to plant a colony in America.

29. These successive misfortunes withdrew, for several years, the attention of the English from these distant regions. In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold made a voyage to America. Instead of taking the circuitous, but usual route, by the West India islands, he steered directly west from England, shortening the voyage at least one third, and arrived, in May, on the coast of Massachusetts. He discovered a headland, and taking a great quantity of codfish near it, called it Cape Cod. Proceeding southwardly, he passed Gay Head, entered Buzzard's bay, and upon an island within it erected a small fort, the ruins of which were visible so late as 1797. After trading a while with the Indians he returned home.

30. The report made by Gosnold revived the spirit of adventure. In 1603 and 1605, two voyages were made in the same direction, and Penobscot bay, Massachusetts bay, and the rivers between them were discovered. The accounts given by the last navigators confirmed the report of Gosnold, and led to a more extensive scheme of colonization than had yet been attempted.

31. Of this scheme, Mr. Richard Hakluyt was the most active promoter. By his persuasion an association of gentlemen, in different parts of the kingdom, was formed for the purpose of sending colonies to America. Upon their application to king James, he, by letters patent, dated in 1606, divided the country of Virginia, then considered as extending from the southern boundary of North Carolina to the northern boundary of Maine, into two districts, and constituted two companies for planting colonies within them.

32. The southern district he granted to Sir Thomas Gates and his associates, chiefly resident in London, and therefore styled the London Company. The northern district he granted to Thomas Hanham and his associates, who were styled the Plymouth Company. The two districts were styled South and North Virginia. The members of these companies were principally merchants; their objects were the extension of commerce and the discovery of mines of the precious metals, which were supposed to abound in North as well as in South America.

33. For the supreme government of the colonies, a grand council was instituted, the members of which were to reside in England, and to be appointed by the king. The subordinate jurisdiction was committed to a council in each colony, the members of which were to be appointed by the grand council in England, and to be governed by its instructions. To the emigrants and their descendants were secured the enjoyment of all the rights of denizens or citizens, in the same manner and to the same extent as if they had remained or been born in England.

34. Before the date, however, of these letters patent, the king of France granted to the Sieur De Monts all the territory from the 40th to the 46th degree of north latitude, or from New-Jersey to Nova Scotia, then called Acadia. By virtue of this grant a settlement was made in 1604, on the south eastern side of the bay of Fundy, and called Port Royal. In 1608, Samuel Champlain, the agent of De Monts, laid the foundation of Quebec, the capital of Canada. From these possessions of the French, the colonies of New England and New-York were, for more than a century, frequently and cruelly annoyed.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

THE London Company, soon after its incorporation in 1606, despatched to America three ships, having on board one hundred and five persons, destined to begin a settlement in South Virginia. Christopher Newport commanded the squadron. He was accompanied by captain Gosnold and other distinguished individuals; some allured by curiosity, and some by the prospect of gain, to visit a country said to be inhabited by a new race of beings, and to abound in silver and gold.

2. A sealed box was delivered to Newport, with directions that it should not be opened until twenty-four hours after the emigrants had landed in America. During the voyage, violent dissensions arose among the principal personages on board the squadron. Of most of them, John Smith, one of the adventurers, incurred the distrust and hatred. His superior talents, and the fame he had acquired by his exploits in war, excited their envy, and probably caused him to claim for himself greater deference than they were willing or bound to yield.

3. In his youth he had been a merchant's apprentice. At the age of fifteen, he quitted his master and travelled in France, the Netherlands, Egypt, and Germany. Having joined the army of the emperor of Austria, who was then at war with the Turks, he received, as a reward for a successful stratagem, the command of a troop of horse.

4. In three personal combats with Turkish champions, he came off victorious, at each time killing his adversary. In a battle which subsequently took place, he was wounded and taken prisoner. After his recovery, he was sent as a slave to Constantinople. He had fallen into the hands of a cruel master; but his mistress, captivated by his fine appearance and heroic character, and commiserating his fate, sent him, in the absence of her husband, to her brother, who dwelt near the sea of Asoph. He, disregarding her directions, assigned to Smith degrading and laborious tasks, and beat him without mercy whenever he failed to perform them.

5. Seizing a favorable opportunity, he killed his new master and fled into Russia. After visiting Germany, France, Spain, and Morocco, he returned to England,

became acquainted with Gosnold, and was easily persuaded to embark in an expedition to a country he had not yet visited, in search of new scenes and new adventures. While yet at sea, he was accused of an intention to murder the council, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia; and upon this absurd accusation was put in confinement.

6. The place of their destination was the disastrous position of the Roanoke. A storm fortunately drove them to the mouth of Chesapeake bay, which they entered on the 26th of April, 1607. Discovering a large and beautiful river, they gave it the name of James River, ascended it, and on its banks had several interviews with the natives.

7. In one of these a chief came forward, holding in one hand his bow and arrows, in the other a pipe of tobacco, and demanded the cause of their coming. They made signs of peace, and were received as friends. Paspiha, another chief, when informed of their wish to settle in the country, offered them as much land as they wanted, and sent them a deer for their entertainment.

8. On the 13th of May, they debarked at a place which they called Jamestown. On opening the sealed box, it was found to contain the names of the council and instructions for their guidance. In the list were the names of Gosnold, Smith, Wingfield, and Newport. Wingfield was elected president, and a vote was passed excluding Smith from his seat at the board. He was, however, released from confinement.

9. The whole country was then a wilderness, in which a few Indians roamed in pursuit of their enemies, or of wild beasts for food. In color they were darker than the European, but not so black as the negro. They possessed all the vices and virtues of the savage state; were cunning in stratagem, ferocious in battle, cruel to their conquered enemies, kind and hospitable to their friends. They had no written language; they were unacquainted with the use of iron and the other metals; their weapons of war were a bow and arrows, a stone hatchet, which they called a tomahawk, and a club. They lived principally by hunting, but sometimes cultivated small patches of Indian corn.

10. From such neighbors the emigrants could expect but little aid or comfort. Yet they took no care to provide for their future subsistence or preservation. They planted nothing the first year. The provisions brought from

England were soon consumed. In four months, famine and the diseases of a hot and damp climate swept away fifty of their number.

11. These dreadful distresses led them to reflect upon their situation and conduct. Having become sensible of their injustice to Smith, they, at his request, had granted him a trial, which resulted in an honorable acquittal. His personal talents and activity now enforced, in adversity, the same regard and deference which, in prosperous times, are yielded only to vested authority and official station.

12. By his advice, a fort was erected, to protect them from the attacks of the Indians. To procure provisions and explore the country, he made frequent and distant excursions into the wilderness. In one of these he seized an Indian idol, made with skins stuffed with moss, for the redemption of which as much corn was brought him as he required. Sometimes he procured supplies by caresses, sometimes by purchase, and when these means failed of success, he scrupled not to resort to stratagem and violence.

13. But in the midst of his activity and usefulness, he was, while exploring the source of the river Chickahominy, surprised and attacked by a party of Indians. He defended himself bravely until his companions were killed, when he turned to flee. Running at hazard, he sunk to his neck in a swamp and was taken prisoner.

14. The exulting savages conducted him in triumph, through several towns, to their king, Powhatan. At the end of six weeks, their chiefs assembled to deliberate on his fate. They decided that he should die. He was led forth to execution; his head was placed upon a stone, and an Indian stood near with a club, the instrument of death. At this instant, Pocahontas, the young and favorite daughter of the king, appeared, and rushing between the executioner and the prisoner, folded his head in her arms and entreated her father to spare his life. Powhatan relented, directed Smith to be conducted to his wigwam or hut, and soon afterwards sent him, escorted by twelve guides, to Jamestown.

15. On his arrival there, he found the number of settlers reduced to thirty-eight, and most of these had determined to abandon the country. By persuasions and threats, he induced a majority to relinquish their design. The remainder, more resolute, went on board a small vessel in the river. Against these he instantly directed the guns

of the fort, when, to avoid the danger of being sunk, they hastened back to their companions.

16. Sustaining now a high reputation among the Indians, he obtained from them occasional supplies of provisions, which preserved the colony from famine. The princess Pocahontas also, remembering him whose life she had saved, frequently sent him such articles as were most needed. The settlers were thus enabled to subsist until captain Newport, who had returned to England, again arrived at Jamestown, with a quantity of provisions, and one hundred and twenty persons who came to reside in the colony.

17. All danger being in appearance over, the emigrants no longer submitted to the authority, nor listened to the advice of Smith. Disorder and confusion followed; and about this time, that raging passion for gold, which first impelled Europeans to resort to this country, was again excited. In a stream north of Jamestown, a glittering earth was discovered which was supposed to be gold dust. "Immediately," says Stith, in his history, "there was no thought, no discourse, no hope, and no work, but to dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, and load gold." And notwithstanding the remonstrances of Smith, a ship was freighted with this worthless commodity and sent to England.

18. Finding he could not be useful in Jamestown, and unwilling to be idle, Smith set out upon an expedition to explore the coasts of the Chesapeake. With great labor and fatigue, he examined every inlet, river, and bay, as far as the mouth of the Rappahannock; whence, his provisions being exhausted, he returned home.

19. He found the people turbulent and discontented. They charged the president with squandering the public property, and imposing upon them unnecessary fatigue, by compelling them to build for himself a house of pleasure in the woods. He was deposed; Smith was chosen to succeed him; he refused to accept the office, but no other person was appointed.

20. Having procured a supply of provisions, he again departed to complete the survey of the Chesapeake. He visited all the countries on both shores; he traded with some tribes; he fought with others; and left, among all, the highest admiration of the beneficence or valor of the English. Returning after an absence of six weeks, he was again chosen president. Yielding to the general

wish, he consented to accept the office. Under his administration, habits of industry and subordination were formed, and peace and plenty smiled upon the colony.

21. In 1609, the London Company, having obtained a new charter, conferring greater powers and privileges than the former, despatched to Virginia nine ships, carrying five hundred emigrants, and certain officers appointed to supersede the existing government. The ship, in which these officers embarked, was driven ashore on the island of Bermudas. The settlers, who came in the others, were licentious, profligate, and disorderly. Assuming the power of disposing of the government, they conferred it sometimes on one, and sometimes on another.

22. In this confusion, Smith hesitated but a short time in deciding what course to pursue. He determined that his authority was not suspended until the arrival of the persons appointed to supersede him, and resumed, with a strong hand, the reins of government. He boldly imprisoned the leaders of the sedition, and restored for a time regularity and obedience.

23. The Indians, jealous of the increasing power of the strangers who had invaded their country, concerted a plot to destroy them. Pocahontas, the constant friend of Virginia, hastened, in a dark and dreary night, to Jamestown, and informed Smith of his danger. Measures of precaution were instantly taken. The Indians, perceiving that their design was discovered, again brought presents of peace to the English.

24. Soon after, Smith, having received by accident a severe wound, returned to England to procure the aid of a surgeon. Disastrous consequences followed. The Indians, learning that the man whom they dreaded most had left the colony, attacked it with united forces. A dreadful famine ensued. To such extremity were the settlers reduced, that they devoured the skins of the horses, the bodies of the Indians whom they had killed, and at last those of their own companions, who had sunk under accumulated miseries. These tremendous sufferings were recollected long afterwards with horror, and the period was remembered and distinguished by the name of the "STARVING TIME."

25. In six months, the colony, from five hundred persons, was reduced to sixty; and these were exceedingly dejected. In this situation they were visited by those who were shipwrecked at Bermudas. All immediately deter-

mined to return to England. For this purpose, the remnant of the colony embarked on board the ships just arrived, and sailed down the river. Fortunately they were met by Lord Delaware, who had been appointed governor of Virginia, and who, having brought with him a supply of provisions, persuaded them to return to Jamestown.

26. This nobleman, by the mildness of his temper and his assiduity in business, restored order and contentment; and the Indians were again taught to respect and fear the English. After a short administration, he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Dale, by whom, on the recurrence of disorderly conduct, martial law was proclaimed and rigidly enforced. In the same year, [1611,] Sir Thomas Gates was appointed governor. He brought with him to Virginia a reinforcement of settlers, by whom new towns were founded. And another charter was granted by the king, conferring additional privileges.

27. In 1612, captain Argal having learned, while on a trading voyage to the Potomac, that Pocahontas was in the neighborhood, visited and persuaded her to go on board his vessel. He treated her respectfully, but detained and carried her to Jamestown. He presumed that the possession of Pocahontas would give the English an ascendency over Powhatan, who was known to feel a strong attachment to his daughter. In this, however, he was disappointed. Powhatan, noble by nature, felt indignant at this instance of treachery in the English. He offered a ransom for his daughter, but refused to consent to any terms of peace until she was restored.

28. During her stay at Jamestown, her beauty, her artless simplicity, and those graces of manner which ever accompany dignity of mind and innocence of heart, won the affections of Mr. Rolfe, a young and respectable planter. He succeeded in producing a reciprocal attachment. They were married with the consent of Powhatan. The consequence of this marriage was peace with her father, and with all the tribes who stood in awe of his power.

29. Rolfe and his princess made a voyage to England, where she was received by the king and queen with the attention due to her rank. For her virtues, and her disinterested services, she was universally beloved and respected. She died when about to return to America, leaving one son, from whom are descended some of the most respectable families in Virginia.

30. In 1613, captain Argal was sent, with a naval force,

to drive the French from the settlements they had begun in Acadia, which were considered to be within the limits of North Virginia. He accomplished the object of the expedition, and, when returning, visited a Dutch trading establishment on Hudson's river, which was also within the same limits. The governor, too feeble to resist, acknowledged himself subject to the king of England.

31. The king, in his instructions given at the time of the first emigration to Jamestown, directed that all the land should be owned in common, and that the produce of the labor of all should be deposited in the public stores. In such circumstances no one would labor with the same steadiness and animation as if he, and he alone, was to possess and enjoy the fruit of his industry. A different regulation was now adopted. To each inhabitant, three acres of land were assigned in full property, and he was permitted to employ, in the cultivation of it, a certain portion of his time. The effects of this alteration were immediately visible, and demonstrated so clearly its wisdom, that soon after another assignment of fifty acres was made; and the plan of working in a common field, to fill the public stores, was entirely abandoned.

32. Since the year 1611, the colony had been governed by martial law, which was administered by deputy governor Argal, with so much rigor as to excite universal discontent. The council in England, listening to the complaints of the Virginians, appointed Mr. Yeardly governor, and instructed him to inquire into and redress their wrongs. He arrived in April, 1619, and immediately, to the great joy of the inhabitants, called a general assembly of the colony. It met at Jamestown, on the 19th of June, and was composed of delegates from the boroughs, then amounting to seven. They, the governor, and the council, sat and deliberated in the same apartment, and acted as one body.

33. Emigrants continued to arrive frequently from England, but nearly all were men, who came for the purpose of obtaining wealth, and intended eventually to return. With such views, they were evidently less useful to the colony than if they should be induced to regard it as their home, and as the abode of their posterity. To produce this desirable attachment to the country, ninety girls, young and uncorrupt, were sent over in the year 1620, and sixty more in the subsequent year, and immediately sold to the young planters as wives. The price was, at first,

one hundred, and afterwards, one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, then selling at three shillings the pound: and it was ordained, that debts, contracted for wives, should be paid in preference to all others.

34. About the same time, another measure, of a different character, was adopted. The company were ordered by the king to transport to Virginia one hundred idle and dissolute persons, then in custody for their offences. They were distributed through the colony, and employed as laborers.

35. A Dutch vessel also brought into James river twenty Africans, who were immediately purchased as slaves. This was the commencement, in the English American colonies, of a traffic abhorrent to humanity, disgraceful to civilization, and fixing the foulest stain upon the character of the age and people.

36. The colony was now in the full tide of prosperity. Its numbers had greatly increased, and its settlements were widely extended. At peace with the Indians, it reposed in perfect security, and enjoyed without alloy all the happiness which its fortunate situation and favorable prospects afforded. It was doomed to experience a reverse of fortune, sudden, distressing, and terrible.

37. Powhatan, the friend of the English, was dead. Opecancanough, a chief endowed with all those qualities which give rank and reputation to an Indian warrior, had succeeded him in his influence and power, but he was the secret and implacable enemy of the whites. By his art and eloquence, he united all the neighbouring tribes in the horrible design of destroying every man, woman, and child in the English settlements.

38. The plan was concerted and matured, with all the secrecy and dissimulation which characterize the savages. While intent on their plot, they visited the settlements, lodged in the houses, bought arms of the English, and even borrowed their boats to enable them to accomplish their barbarous purpose.

39. On the evening before the fatal day, they brought them presents of game; and the next morning came freely among them, behaving as usual. Suddenly, precisely at mid-day, the blow fell, at the same instant, upon the unsuspecting settlers; and three hundred and forty-seven men, women, and children, were victims to savage treachery and cruelty. The massacre would have been more extensive had not a domesticated Indian, residing in one of

the villages, revealed the plot to his master, whom he had been solicited to murder. Information was instantly given to some of the nearest settlements, and just in time to save them from the calamity which fell upon the others.

40. The horrid spectacle before them roused the English from repose to vengeance. A vindictive and exterminating war succeeded. The whites were victorious, destroying many of their enemies, and obliging the remainder to retire far into the wilderness. But their own number melted away before the miseries of war; their settlements were reduced from eighty to eight, and famine again visited them with its afflicting scourge. In 1624, out of nine thousand persons, who had been sent from England, but eighteen hundred existed in the colony.

41. These continual misfortunes attracted the attention of king James. He revoked the charter which he had granted, and committed the management of all the affairs of the colony to a governor and twelve counsellors, who were to be appointed by the king and to be guided by his instructions. Of these instructions, those concerning tobacco, the principal article exported from the colony, may be taken as a sample. It was ordained that those who raised it should not themselves be permitted to dispose of it, but should export it to England, and deliver it to certain designated agents; and they alone were authorized to sell it.

42. Under such arbitrary regulations, the people lived and suffered, until the year 1636, when Sir John Harvey held the office of governor. He was haughty, rapacious, unfeeling, and fitted, by his disposition, to exercise power in the true spirit of his instructions. Inflamed to madness by his oppressions, the Virginians, in a fit of popular rage, seized and sent him a prisoner to England. At the same time, they despatched two deputies charged to represent the grievances of the colony and the governor's misconduct.

43. Charles I, who was then king, indignant at the violent proceeding, received the deputies sternly, and sent back the governor, invested with all his former powers. He was, however, in 1639, succeeded by Sir William Berkeley, who was instructed again to allow the Virginians to elect representatives. Such was their gratitude to the king for this favor, that during the civil wars between him and his parliament, they were faithful to the royal cause, and continued faithful even after he was dethroned and his son driven into exile.

44. The parliament, irritated by this conduct of the Virginians, sent Sir George Ayscue, in 1652, with a powerful fleet, to reduce them to submission. Berkeley, with more spirit than prudence, opposed this force; but after making a gallant resistance, he was obliged to yield. He obtained the most favorable terms for the colony, but asked no stipulations in his own favor. Withdrawing to a retired situation, he lived beloved and respected by the people.

45. For nine years afterwards, governors appointed by Cromwell, continued to preside over the colony. But the predilection for royalty, which the inhabitants had displayed, was remembered, and they were less favored than those of New-England, who, like the predominant party in Great Britain, were republicans in politics, and puritans in religion. Arbitrary restrictions upon the commerce of Virginia checked its prosperity, and produced discontent. At length, the sudden death of governor Matthews afforded, to the adherents of the royal cause, a favorable opportunity, which they gladly seized, to proclaim Charles II, and to invite Berkeley to resume the authority of governor. He consented, requiring only their solemn promise to hazard their lives and fortunes in supporting the cause they had espoused.

46. At this period, no intelligence had been received of the death of Cromwell. Fortunately for the colony, that event happened soon after; the king whom they had proclaimed was restored to the throne; and Virginia for a long time boasted, that she was the last of the British dominions that submitted to Cromwell, and the first that returned to her allegiance.

47. Charles II confirmed Sir William Berkeley in the office of governor; but with characteristic ingratitude, he neglected the interests of the colony, and even imposed additional restrictions upon its commerce. He also granted to his favorites large tracts of land which belonged to the colony. These injuries, inflicted by a hand which ought to have bestowed favors, wounded the feelings of the Virginians, and produced murmurs and complaints. No relief being granted, an open and turbulent insurrection was the consequence.

48. At the head of the insurgents was Nathaniel Bacon. He was a lawyer, educated in London, and was appointed a member of the council, a short time after his emigration to Virginia. He was young, bold, ambitious; his person

engaging, and his elocution commanding. He harangued the citizens upon their grievances; inflamed their resentment against their rulers; declaimed particularly against the languor with which the war, then existing with the Indians, had been conducted; and such was the effect of his representations, that he was elected general by the people.

49. He applied to the governor for a commission confirming this election, and offered instantly to march, at the head of the citizens, against the savages. Sir William indignantly refused, and issued a proclamation commanding the insurgents to disperse. Bacon had advanced too far to recede with honor or safety. He hastened, at the head of six hundred armed followers, to Jamestown, surrounded the house where the governor and council were assembled, and repeated his demand.

50. The council, intimidated by the threats of the enraged multitude, hastily prepared a commission, and, by their entreaties, prevailed on the governor to sign it. Bacon and his troops, then began their march against the Indians. But the council, when relieved from their fears, declared the commission void, and proclaimed him a rebel. Enraged at this conduct, he instantly returned, with all his forces, to Jamestown. The governor fled, the council dispersed, and he found himself in possession of supreme power. To give it some show of legality, he called together the most considerable gentlemen in the colony, who bound themselves by oath to support his authority.

51. Some districts remained faithful to Berkeley, who collected forces, and made inroads into those sections where Bacon's authority was recognised. The latter retaliated, and for some months, a civil war, with all its peculiar horrors, raged in Virginia. Jamestown was burned, and some of the finest and best cultivated districts were laid waste.

52. King Charles, informed of the situation of affairs, despatched a body of troops to the assistance of Berkeley. Bacon and his followers, unintimidated by their approach, determined to oppose them; but when prepared to take the field, this daring and successful leader, having exercised the supreme power for seven months, sickened and died; and no person being found among the insurgents qualified to supply his place, as the general of an army or as a popular leader, they laid down their arms and dispersed.

53. Governor Berkeley again assumed the supreme

authority, and finding the rebels in his power, pursued them with unsparing rigor. Many were tried by courts martial, and executed. The assembly interfered, praying him to stop the work of death, and enacted laws which gradually restored tranquillity. Soon after, Sir William returned to England, and his authority devolved on colonel Jeffreys, the lieutenant-governor. Under his administration, peace was concluded with the Indians; and notwithstanding the tyrannical regulations of the king, and the oppressive restrictions upon commerce, the colony increased in wealth and population. In the year 1688, the number of inhabitants exceeded 60,000.

54. Between this period and the commencement of the French war of 1756, an account of which will be found in a subsequent chapter, but few events occurred in the colony of sufficient importance to find a place in history. Its position, remote from the settlements of the French in Canada, and of the Spaniards in Florida, was favorable to its quiet. New-England and New-York, on the one hand, Georgia and the Carolinas on the other, protected it from savage incursions. Its affairs were administered by governors appointed by the king, and representatives chosen by the people.

55. The laudable efforts of these representatives, to arrest the progress of slavery in the colony, ought not to be passed over in silence. Convinced of its inhumanity, and foreseeing the dreadful evils which it must produce, they often passed laws prohibiting the importation of slaves; but those who were higher in authority, yielding to the wishes of merchants engaged in the abominable traffic, persisted, with criminal obstinacy, in withholding their assent. England, not America, is responsible for the wretchedness, which her kings and her officers were often importuned, but refused, to avert.

CHAPTER II.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Of the two companies incorporated by king James, an account of the proceedings and dissolution of one, and a history of the colony it founded, have been given in the preceding chapter. To the other, or Plymouth Company,

was assigned a portion of the American continent lying farther to the north, and at that time called North Virginia.

2. The latter, in 1606, the year in which both were incorporated, despatched a ship to make discoveries within the limits of its grant. Before the voyage was completed, she was captured by the Spaniards. Another ship, afterwards sent for the same purpose, returned with such a favorable account of the territory that the company was encouraged to proceed in the undertaking.

3. The next year, forty-five men were sent over and left at the mouth of the river Kennebec. In 1608, dispirited by the hardships they had endured, they returned to England in ships which had brought them provisions and succors. The company, disappointed and dissatisfied, desisted for a while from all attempts to effect a settlement.

4. In 1614, John Smith, the same who acted a conspicuous part in the settlement of Virginia, made a voyage to this northern country, touching first at the mouth of the Kennebec. Sailing thence, in an open boat, he surveyed the coast to the southern boundary of Massachusetts bay. The northern promontory he named Tragabigzanda, in honor of the Turkish lady to whom he had formerly been a slave. The three small islands, lying near the head of the promontory, he called the Three Turks' Heads, in memory of his victory over the three Turkish champions. Both appellations have been changed for others. On his return to England, he presented to prince Charles a map of the country, and gave him such a glowing description of its beauty and excellence, that he, in the warmth of his admiration, declared it should bear the name of NEW-ENGLAND.

5. Smith afterwards made an attempt to transport a colony thither, which was unsuccessful; and New-England might long have remained the abode of wild beasts and savages only, had not motives, more powerful than the love of gain or of perilous adventures, impelled men, differing from all others who had been the founders of colonies, to select it as the place of their residence.

6. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, James I asserted and maintained a despotic power over the consciences of his English subjects. All who presumed to dissent from the creed which he had adopted were persecuted with extreme rigor. In that age, the maxim was avowed by ecclesiastics of all sects as well as politicians, that uniformity in religion was essential to the

repose of society, and that it was therefore the right and duty of every sovereign to preserve it in his dominions, by the exercise of all his powers of restraint and punishment.

7. But free inquiry had lately received such an impulse from the success of Luther and the other reformers, that the civil authority was unable to arrest or control it. Various sects arose, dissenting from the established religion, and all distinguished by their democratic tenets respecting church government. Persecuted at home, a small number, belonging to the sect which were afterwards called Independents, removed to Leyden, in Holland, where they formed a distinct society under the care of their pastor, the Rev. John Robinson. By their rigid virtues and exemplary deportment, they acquired the respect of the magistrates and citizens.

8. After residing several years in that city, various considerations induced them to resolve to leave it. In 1618, they applied to the London, or South Virginia, Company, for a grant of land in America; and to ensure success, they observed, "that they were well weaned from the delicate milk of the mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; that they were knit together by a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole; that it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves home again."

9. A grant was obtained, and in September, 1620, a part of them set sail for Hudson's river; but the master of the ship, bribed, it is said, by the Dutch, who claimed the sole right of trading in that quarter, carried them farther north, and the first land they discovered was Cape Cod. This, they were aware, was beyond the limits of the London Company, but it was now November, and too late in the season to put again to sea. They therefore determined to land at the first place they could find suitable for a settlement.

10. Before leaving the ship, the heads of families and freemen, forty-one in number, signed a solemn covenant, combining themselves into a body politic for the purpose of making equal laws for the general good. They ordained that a governor and assistants should be annually chosen, but the sovereign power remained in the whole body of freemen. John Carver was elected governor.

11. On the 11th of December, [O. S.] they landed on a

desolate coast. Sterile sands and gloomy forests were the only objects that met their view. The severity of the cold, greater than they had ever experienced, admonished them to seek protection against it; and their first employment was the erection of huts in the most convenient and sheltered situations. In these miserable abodes they passed the winter, those at least who survived it. By the succeeding spring, one half of their number had perished, exhausted by continual suffering, and by the privation of every worldly comfort which they had been accustomed to enjoy.

12. Their settlement was found to be within the limits of the Plymouth company from which they solicited and obtained a grant of land; but they were never incorporated by the king. They called the place New-Plymouth. They often received small additions to their number, which, in 1630, amounted to three hundred.

13. In the mean time, the same causes that drove Mr. Robinson and his congregation from England had continued to operate. A class of dissenters, denominated puritans from the austerity of their manners, and from their claims to superior purity in worship and discipline, had become numerous; and as, by their new mode of worship, they violated the laws of the land, they were prosecuted as criminals. Their faith was confirmed and their zeal increased by their sufferings; and having learned that complete religious freedom was enjoyed at New-Plymouth, in America, they naturally directed their thoughts to that country, as a secure asylum from persecution.

14. In 1627, an association of puritans, residing at Dorchester and the vicinity, was formed for the purpose of planting a colony in New-England, to which they and their brethren might repair, and, in seclusion and safety, worship God according to the dictates of conscience. They obtained from the Plymouth Company, a grant of the territory, which now constitutes a part of the state of Massachusetts, and sent over, under the direction of John Endicott, a small number of people, to begin a plantation. These, in September, landed at a place called, by the Indians, Naumkeak, and, by themselves, Salem.

15. The next year, they obtained a charter from the crown, by which the usual powers of a corporation were conferred upon the grantees, by the name of the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, in New-England." It ordained, that the officers of the company should be a

Governor, a deputy Governor, and eighteen assistants, to be named, in the first instance, by the crown, and afterwards elected by the corporation. Four stated meetings of all the members were to be held annually, under the denomination of the General Court, at which they were authorised to admit freemen or members, and to make such ordinances or laws, not repugnant to the laws of England, as they might deem expedient. The colonists, and their descendants, were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural born English subjects.

16. At a General Court, held at London, in 1629, the officers prescribed by the charter, were elected, and several ordinances were adopted for the government of the company. Three hundred people were sent over, of whom one hundred, dissatisfied with the situation of Salem, removed to Charlestown. Religion was the first object of their care in the country they had adopted. A religious covenant was agreed upon, and a confession of faith drawn up, to which their assent was given. Pastors were chosen, and were, from necessity, installed into their sacred offices by the imposition of the hands of the brethren.

17. The ensuing winter was a period of uncommon suffering and sickness. The cold was intense; the houses were unfinished; the provisions were insufficient and unwholesome. Before spring, nearly half their number perished, "lamenting that they could not live to see the rising glories of the faithful."

18. These calamities had some effect in deterring others from joining them; but the consideration that the general courts were held, the officers elected, and the laws enacted, in London, had still greater influence. It did not comport with the views and feelings of those who disdained to submit to authority in matters of faith, to consent to remove to the new world, and there be governed by laws which they could have no part in enacting. Representations to this effect were made to the company, who resolved that the government and patent should be removed to Massachusetts.

19. This wise resolution gave such encouragement to emigration, that, in 1630, more than fifteen hundred persons came over, and founded Boston and several adjacent towns. Of these persons, all were respectable, and many were from illustrious and noble families. Having been accustomed to a life of ease and enjoyment, their sufferings, the first year, were great, and proved fatal to many; among

others, to the lady Arabella, who, to use the words of an early historian of the country, "came from a paradise of plenty and pleasure, in the family of a noble earl, into a wilderness of wants; and although celebrated for her many virtues, yet was not able to encounter the adversity she was surrounded with; and, in about a month after her arrival, she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed." Mr. Johnson, her husband, overcome with grief, survived her but a short time.

20. Before December, two hundred perished. On the 24th of that month, the cold became intense. Such a Christmas-eve they had never before known. Yet the inclemency of the weather continued to increase. They were almost destitute of provisions, and many were obliged to subsist on clams, muscles, and other shell fish, with nuts and acorns instead of bread. Many more died; but in this extremity, that ardor of conviction which compelled them to emigrate, remained in full force, and they met, with a firm, unshaken spirit, the calamities which assailed them.

21. One great object of the puritans, in retiring to the unoccupied regions of New-England, was the establishment of a religious commonwealth, as nearly upon the model of that of the Jews as the difference of circumstances would admit. To accomplish this object, they deemed it necessary, and at a general court, held in 1631, they ordained, that none but those who had made a profession of religion, and had become members of some church, should be admitted members of the corporation, or enjoy the privilege of voting.

22. This law has been too severely censured by those who have lived in more liberal and enlightened times. It contradicted none of the professions of the puritans. It was in strict accordance with the avowed motives of their emigration. It exhibited less intolerance than was then displayed by every other nation. It violated the rights of no one, for no one could claim a right to come into the territory which they had purchased. And it was doubtless essential, such was then the temper of men's minds, to the repose of their little society.

23. The colonists had frequently been alarmed, but never yet attacked, by the Indians. These were not, in fact, in a condition to do much injury. A few years before the arrival of the English, a contagious distemper swept away a great number, almost exterminating several tribes. In

1633, the small pox destroyed many who had survived the pestilence; and the territory, contiguous to the first settlements of the English, seemed to have been providentially made vacant for their reception. As an attack from this quarter was, however, possible, and as the French, who had a trading establishment at Acadia, had discovered some symptoms of hostility, it was thought advisable to erect fortifications at Boston, and other places, and to open a correspondence with their neighbours at New-Plymouth.

24. So far from the capital had the settlements extended, that it was found extremely inconvenient for all the freemen to assemble and transact the necessary public business. In 1634, the mode of legislation was altered, by the general consent of the towns. They delegated to twenty-four representatives the authority granted, by the charter, to the whole body of freemen. This important alteration was adopted the more readily, as the emigrants had been familiar, in their native country, with the representative system. The appellation of General Court, which had been applied to all the freemen when assembled, was now transferred to their representatives.

25. In the same year, Roger Williams, the minister of Salem, having occasioned disturbances, by advancing tenets considered not only heretical but seditious, and being found irreclaimable, was ordered to leave the colony. He retired to Rehoboth, which was then within the jurisdiction of Plymouth.

26. In 1635, Massachusetts received from England a large number of inhabitants, and among them came two who afterwards acted conspicuous parts in the affairs of their native country. One was Hugh Peters, who was subsequently a chaplain of Oliver Cromwell; the other was Mr. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane. The latter was but twenty-five years of age; but by his show of great humility, his grave and solemn deportment, and his ardent professions of attachment to liberty, he stole the hearts of the puritans, and, the year after his arrival, was made governor of the colony.

27. His popularity, however, was transient. During his administration, the celebrated Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman who was distinguished for her eloquence, and had imbibed the enthusiasm of the age, instituted weekly meetings for persons of her own sex, in which she commented on the sermons of the preceding Sunday, and advanced certain mystical and extravagant doctrines. These

spread rapidly among the people, and many became converts.

28. Governor Vane, with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright, two distinguished clergymen, embraced them with ardor; but lieutenant governor Winthrop, and a majority of the churches, deemed them heretical and seditious. Great excitement was produced among the people; many conferences were held; public fasts were appointed; a general synod was summoned; and after much intemperate discussion, her opinions were determined to be erroneous, and she and some of her adherents were banished from the colony.

29. Not being again chosen governor, Vane returned in disgust to England, engaged in the civil wars, which soon after afflicted that country, sustained high offices in the republican party, and, after the restoration of Charles II, was accused of high treason, convicted and executed. Peters pursued a similar career, and met with the same fate.

30. In such high repute, at this time, were the settlements in Massachusetts, that other Englishmen, still more conspicuous, had determined to leave their native land, that they might enjoy, in a desert, the civil and religious liberty which was denied them at home. Among these were Mr. Hambden, Sir Arthur Haselrig, and Oliver Cromwell, whom king Charles, by express order, detained, when on the point of embarking. Little did he imagine that, by this act of arbitrary power, he kept within his kingdom those restless votaries of freedom, who were destined to overturn his throne, and bring his head to the block.

31. By the settlement of Massachusetts, the attention of emigrants was diverted from the colony of Plymouth, where the soil was less fertile. It nevertheless continued to increase, although slowly, in population. In 1633, the government of that colony built a trading house, near Hartford, which was the first building erected within the boundaries of Connecticut. Soon after, many persons repaired thither from Massachusetts. In 1636, Roger Williams laid the foundation of Rhode Island. Subsequently, New-Hampshire and New-Haven were founded, which increased to five the number of colonies in New-England.

32. The rapid progress of the English settlements, excited the jealousy of the natives. They had welcomed, without fear, the emigrants who first landed, not anticipating their future encroachments. The experience of a

few years convinced them that they must either exterminate these invaders of their country, or be themselves exterminated.

33. Within the boundaries of Rhode Island and Connecticut, lived two warlike tribes, the Pequods and Narragansets. The former were hostile, the latter friendly, to the whites. Between the two tribes an inveterate enmity existed; but the more sagacious and politic Pequods proposed that all animosities should be forgotten, and their united strength directed against their invaders, before they had become too strong to be resisted. At first the Narragansets wavered, but their hatred of the Pequods overpowered the suggestions of policy. They disclosed the proposal to the English, and invited them to join in a war against their common enemy.

34. The colonies were roused to a sense of their danger. In 1637, Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, agreed to unite their forces, and attempt the entire destruction of the Pequods. Captain Mason, with eighty men, principally from Connecticut, and three hundred friendly Indians, was immediately sent into the country of the enemy. Early in the morning of the 26th of May, he attacked one of the principal villages, which had been surrounded with pallisades. The resistance was brave and obstinate, and the issue of the battle for some time doubtful; but the whites, forcing their way into the enclosure, set fire to the wigwams, and then, retreating a short distance, surrounded the town. Many of the Indians perished in the flames; others were shot, in their attempts to flee. Of five or six hundred, within the enclosure, but few escaped. The English troops, of whom two were killed and sixteen wounded, returned in triumph to Hartford.

35. In June, another body of troops, principally from Massachusetts, marched into the enemy's country, surrounded a swamp, into which a party of them had retired, and took eighty captive. Some escaping, they were pursued to another swamp, situated near New-Haven, where the whole strength of the tribe was collected. This was, in like manner, surrounded; a sharp contest ensued; but the whites were again victorious. Two hundred Pequods were killed or made prisoners. The remainder fled to the country of the Mohawks. The brilliant success of the English, in this first and short war with the natives, gave

the neighboring tribes such an exalted idea of their prowess, that, for nearly forty years, they were neither attacked nor molested.

36. Ten years had now elapsed since the first settlement was made at Salem. It has been computed that, within that time, twenty-one thousand persons arrived in Massachusetts. The dissenters in England having obtained the ascendency in the government, all motives for emigration ceased; and it is supposed that, for many years afterwards, more persons returned to England, than came from England to the colonies.

37. Such, however, were the character and virtues of the emigrants; such the power over difficulties which their resolute minds, and bodies hardened by labor, had imparted to them, that they continued to increase, with astonishing rapidity, in wealth and numbers. And a vote of the house of commons, stating that "the plantations in New-England had had good and prosperous success, without any public charge to the state," is quoted, by a historian of those times, as an honorable testimony of the high merit of the colonists.

38. Circumstances and events had already impressed a character upon them, which, though softened in its worst features by the progress of refinement, still distinguishes their descendants. Persecution made them bigots; piety made them moral; poverty made them frugal; incessant toil made them hardy and robust; dreary solitudes made them gloomy and superstitious; their numerous clergy and well educated leaders, made them venerate literature and the sciences.

39. Four of the New-England colonies, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and New-Haven, apprehending danger from the Indians, from the Dutch, at New-York, and from the French, at Acadia, formed, in 1643, a firm and perpetual league, offensive and defensive. By the articles of this league, each colony was to appoint two commissioners, who were to assemble, by rotation, in the respective colonies, and were empowered to enact ordinances of general concern; and, in case of invasion, each colony was bound, upon the application of three magistrates of the invaded colony, to furnish a stipulated proportion of men and money.

40. Strengthened by this league, the colonies were respected by their civilized and savage neighbors. With the French, under D'Aulney, Massachusetts had a long and troublesome dispute; which was adjusted, in 1644, by

a treaty made by governor Endicott, and afterwards ratified by the commissioners.

41. When representatives were first chosen, they sat and voted in the same chamber with the assistants. In 1635, when Mr. Hooker applied for permission to form a settlement on Connecticut river, a majority of the assistants voted against granting permission; but a majority of the whole assembly in favor of it. The representatives contended that a majority of the assistants was not necessary, and that the vote had passed in the affirmative. The assistants claimed to be a distinct branch of the legislature, and contended that it had passed in the negative.

42. No provision having been made for a case of this kind, an adjournment, for a week, took place; a public fast was appointed, and the divine direction implored in all the congregations. When the assembly again met, a sermon was preached, by Mr. Cotton, which induced the representatives to yield to the claim of the assistants. In 1641, the dispute was renewed, and the assistants were again victorious. The representatives then proposed that the two classes should sit apart, and form distinct bodies, and in this proposition the assistants concurred.

43. The contest between the king and parliament, at length resulted in open war; and the New-England colonies, actuated by the same feeling as the puritans in England, embraced, with ardor, the cause of the latter. The parliament rewarded this attachment, by exempting them from all taxes; and when the supreme authority devolved upon Cromwell, as protector of the liberties of England, they found in him a friend no less sincere and zealous.

44. After the conquest of Ireland, he invited them to return and settle in that country; and, subsequently, having conquered Jamaica, he endeavored to persuade them to remove to that fertile island, and more genial climate. But his arguments and solicitations were unavailing. They enjoyed, in their present abode, complete religious freedom, and that privilege they were unwilling to hazard in pursuit of advantages less essential to their happiness.

45. In 1641, the settlements of New-Hampshire were incorporated with Massachusetts. And, in 1652, the inhabitants of the province of Maine were, at their own request, taken under her protection. This province had been granted to Sir Ferdinand Gorges, who, in 1639, first established a government over it. In 1640, a general court was held at Saco. Upon the death of the proprieto.,

in 1649, most of the officers whom he had appointed, deserted it, and the people found it necessary to resort elsewhere for protection.

46. In 1656, several Quakers arrived in the colony. In this age of enthusiasts, these sectarians surpassed all others in enthusiasm. Their behavior was rude, contemptuous, and disorderly. They reviled magistrates and ministers, and, entering churches on the Sabbath, disturbed the solemnities of public worship. For these offences they were first imprisoned, and then banished. A law was passed prohibiting Quakers from coming into the colony, imposing the penalty of banishment upon the first offence, and of death upon such as should return after banishment. Four, who were so infatuated as to return and obtrude themselves upon the notice of the government, suffered the death which they appeared to seek. This cruel and impolitic law was soon afterwards repealed.

47. Cromwell, who had governed England with greater ability and higher merit than most of her kings, died in 1658, and after an interval of two years, Charles II, a prince destitute of honor and virtue, was recalled from exile and placed upon the throne. He was reluctantly acknowledged by the colonies of New-England. They had been the favorites of the parliament, and the protector, and apprehended, with good reason, the loss of their civil and religious privileges.

48. A short time after, Whalley and Goffe, two of the judges who had sentenced Charles I to be beheaded, having fled before the return of his successor, arrived in New-England. Their first place of residence was Cambridge; but they often appeared publicly in Boston, particularly on Sundays and other days of religious solemnities. They had sustained high rank in Cromwell's army, were men of uncommon talents, and, by their dignified manners and grave deportment, commanded universal respect.

49. As soon as it was known that they were excepted from the general pardon, the governor suggested to the court of assistants the expediency of arresting them. A majority opposed it, and many members of the general court gave them assurances of protection. Considering themselves, however, unsafe at Cambridge, they removed to New-Haven, where they were received with great respect by the clergy and magistrates.

50. After a short residence there, enjoying, in private, the society of their friends, the governor of Massachusetts

received a mandate to arrest them. A warrant was immediately issued, authorising two zealous loyalists to search for, and seize them, wherever found, in New-England. They hastened to the colony of New-Haven, exhibited the warrant to the governor, who resided at Guilford, and requested him to furnish authority and assistants to pursue them. Desirous of favoring the exiles, he affected to deliberate until the next morning, and then utterly declined acting officially, without the advice of his council.

51. In the mean time, they were apprized of their danger, and retired to a new place of concealment. The pursuers, on arriving at New-Haven, searched every suspected house, except the one where the judges were concealed. This they began to search, but were induced, by the address of the mistress of it, to desist. When the pursuers had departed, the judges, retiring into the woods, fixed their abode in a cave.

52. Having there heard that their friends were threatened with punishment, for having afforded them protection, they came from their hiding place for the purpose of delivering themselves up; but their friends, actuated by feelings equally noble and generous, persuaded them to relinquish their intention. Soon after, they removed to Milford, where they remained about two years.

53. Upon the arrival of other persons, instructed to apprehend them, they repaired privately to Hadley, in Massachusetts, where they resided fifteen or sixteen years, but few persons being acquainted with the place of their concealment. There is, in that neighborhood, a tradition, that many years afterwards two graves were discovered in the minister's cellar; and in these, it was supposed, they had been interred. At New-Haven, two graves are shown, said to be those of the two judges. It is not improbable that their remains were removed to this place from Hadley.

54. A singular incident which occurred at the latter place, in 1675, shows that one of these illustrious exiles had not forgotten the avocations of his youth. The people, at the time of public worship, were alarmed by an attack from the Indians, and thrown into the utmost confusion. Suddenly, a grave, elderly person appeared, differing in his mien and dress from all around him. He put himself at their head, rallied, encouraged, and led them against the enemy, who were repulsed and completely defeated. As suddenly, the deliverer of Hadley disappeared. The people

were lost in amazement, and many verily believed that an angel sent from heaven had led them to victory.

55. Their treatment of the king's judges, and in truth all their conduct, evinced the republican spirit of the colonists. By the royal government of England, they could not, therefore, be regarded with favor. In 1663, it was enacted, that no European commodity should be imported into the colonies, unless shipped directly from England, and in British vessels. By this regulation, in connection with others that had been previously made, all the trade of the colonies was secured to the mother country. They submitted reluctantly to these restrictions, and often made them the subject of complaint. But England, believing that they augmented her wealth and power, obstinately refused to repeal them.

56. In 1664, the king despatched four commissioners to visit the several colonies in New-England, to examine into their condition, to hear and decide complaints, and to make to him a report of their proceedings and observations. This measure was dictated by no friendly motive, and was considered by the colonies as a violation of their charters.

57. The first session of the commissioners was at Plymouth, where but little business was transacted; the next in Rhode Island, where they heard complaints from the Indians, and all who were discontented, and made divers determinations respecting titles to land, which were but little regarded. In Massachusetts, the general court complied with such of their requisitions as they thought proper; but, professing sincere loyalty to his majesty, declined acknowledging their authority, and protested against the exercise of it within their limits.

58. In consequence of this manly assertion of their chartered rights, an angry correspondence took place between them, at the close of which the commissioners petulantly told the general court, "that they would lose no more of their labors upon them," but would represent their conduct to his majesty.

59. From Boston, the commissioners proceeded to New-Hampshire, where they exercised several acts of government, and offered to release the inhabitants from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. This offer was almost unanimously rejected. In Maine, they excited more disturbance. They encouraged the people to declare themselves independent, and found many disposed to listen to their suggestions; but Massachusetts, by a prompt and vigorous

exertion of power, constrained the disaffected to submit to her authority.

60. Connecticut appears to have been the favorite of the commissioners. She treated them with respect, and complied with their requisitions. In return, they made such a representation of her merits to the king, as to draw from him a letter of thanks. "Although," says he, "your carriage doth of itself most justly deserve our praise and approbation, yet it seems to be set off with more lustre by the contrary behavior of the colony of Massachusetts."

61. At the end of fifty years from the arrival of the emigrants at Plymouth, the New-England colonies were supposed to contain one hundred and twenty towns, and as many thousand inhabitants. The acts of parliament not being rigidly enforced, their trade had become extensive and profitable. The habits of industry and economy, which had been formed in less happy times, continued to prevail, and gave a competency to those who had nothing, and wealth to those who had a competency. The wilderness receded before adventurous and hardy laborers, and its savage inhabitants found their game dispersed, and their favorite haunts invaded.

62. This was the natural consequence of the sales of land, which were, at all times, readily made to the whites. But this consequence the Indians did not foresee; and when they felt it in all its force, the strongest passions were awakened which can animate civilized or savage man, the love of country and of independence.

63. A leader only was wanting to concentrate and direct their exertions, and Philip, of Pokanoket, sachem of a tribe living within the boundaries of Plymouth and Rhode Island, assumed that honorable, but dangerous, station. His father was the friend, but he had ever been the enemy, of the whites; and this enmity, arising from causes of national concern, had been embittered to vindictive hatred by their conduct towards his elder brother. This brother, being suspected of plotting against them, was seized by a detachment of soldiers, and confined; and the indignity so wrought upon his proud spirit, as to produce a fever that put an end to his life.

64. Philip inherited the authority and proud spirit of his brother. He exerted all the arts of intrigue, and powers of persuasion, of which he was master, to induce the Indians, in all parts of New-England, to unite their efforts for the destruction of the whites. He succeeded in form-

ing a confederacy, able to send into action between three and four thousand warriors.

65. The English were apprized of the plots of the Indians, and made preparations to meet their hostilities. They hoped, however, that the threatened storm would pass by, as others had, and that peace would be preserved. But the insolence of Philip, and the number of his adherents, increased daily; and, in June, 1675, some of them entered the town of Swanzey, in Plymouth, where, after slaughtering the cattle, and plundering the houses, they fired upon the inhabitants, killing and wounding several.

66. The troops of that colony marched immediately to Swanzey, and were soon joined by a detachment from Massachusetts. The Indians fled, and marked the course of their flight by burning the buildings, and fixing on poles, by the way side, the hands, scalps, and heads of the whites whom they had killed. The troops pursued, but unable to overtake them, returned to Swanzey.

67. The whole country was alarmed, and the number of troops augmented. By this array of force, Philip was induced to quit his residence at Mount Hope, and take post near a swamp at Pocasset, now Tiverton. At that place, the English attacked him, but were repulsed. Sixteen whites were killed, and the Indians, by this success, were made bolder.

68. At this time, most of the settlements were surrounded by thick forests, and the Indians lived intermixed with the whites. The former were acquainted, of course, with the dwellings of the latter, with their roads, and places of resort; could watch their motions, and fall upon them in their defenceless and unguarded moments. Many were shot dead as they opened their doors in the morning; many while at work in their fields, and others while travelling to visit their neighbors, or places of worship. At all times, at all places, in all employments, were their lives in jeopardy; and no one could tell but that, in the next moment, he should receive his death shot from his barn, the thicket, or the way side.

69. Whenever the enemy assembled in force, detachments were sent against them; if weaker than these, they would retreat; if stronger, assault and conquer them. Defenceless villages were suddenly attacked, the houses burned, and the men, women, and children killed, or carried into captivity. Their ruin was the work of a moment: and when accomplished, its authors vanished.

70. The colonies, losing individuals, families and villages, found their numbers sensibly diminished; their strength impaired; and began to apprehend even total extinction. Nothing but a vigorous effort could save them. The commissioners met, and determined to despatch an army of a thousand men, to attack the principal position of the enemy. Josiah Winslow, governor of Plymouth, was appointed commander-in-chief; and a solemn fast, to invoke the divine aid, was proclaimed throughout New-England.

71. On the 18th of December, the different bodies of troops formed a junction at a place in the country of the Narragansets, about fifteen miles from the enemy. The weather was extremely cold, but the men, from necessity, passed the night, uncovered, in the fields. At dawn of day they began their march, wading through the deep snow, and at one o'clock, arrived near the enemy's post, which was upon a rising ground, in the midst of a swamp. It was surrounded by palisades, and on the outside of these was a fence of brush, a rod in width.

72. Here was fought the most desperate battle recorded in the early annals of the country. It continued three hours. The English obtained a decisive victory. One thousand Indian warriors were killed; three hundred more, and as many women and children were made prisoners. But dearly was the victory purchased. Six brave captains, and eighty men, were killed, and one hundred and fifty were wounded.

73. From this blow, the confederated Indians never recovered; but they still remained sufficiently strong to harass the settlements by continual inroads. In retaliation, the English sent several detachments into their territories, nearly all of which were successful. Captain Church, of Plymouth, and Captain Dennison, of Connecticut, were conspicuous for their bravery and good fortune.

74. In the midst of these reverses, Philip remained firm and unshaken. His warriors were cut off; his chief men, his wife and family, were killed or taken prisoners; and at these successive misfortunes, he is represented to have wept with a bitterness which proved him to possess the noblest of human virtues and affections; but he disdained to listen to any offers of peace. He even shot one of his men, who proposed submission. At length, after being hunted from swamp to swamp, he was himself shot, by the brother of the Indian he had killed. After his death,

the remnant of his followers either submitted to the English, or united with distant tribes.

75. Never was peace more welcome, for never had war been more distressing. The whole population was in mourning for relatives slain. Nearly a thousand houses had been burned, and goods and cattle of great value, had been plundered or destroyed. The colonies had contracted a heavy debt, which, their resources having been so much diminished, they found an almost insupportable burden. But, in their deepest distress, they forbore to apply to the mother country for assistance; and this omission excited surprise and jealousy. "You act," said a privy counsellor, "as though you were independent of our master's crown; and though poor, yet you are proud."

76. In 1680, New-Hampshire, at the solicitation of John Mason, to whose ancestor a part of the territory had been granted, was constituted a separate colony. Massachusetts, apprehending the loss of Maine also, purchased of the heirs of Gorges, their claim to the soil and jurisdiction, for twelve hundred and fifty pounds.

77. The disregard of the acts of trade had given great offence to the mother country, and the Governors of New-England were peremptorily required to enforce them. But being enacted by a parliament in which the colonies were not represented, they were regarded as violations of their rights, and continued to be evaded with impunity. Edward Randolph was therefore sent over, commissioned as inspector of the customs in New-England. He was also the bearer of a letter from the king, requiring that agents should be sent to the court of London, fully empowered to act for the colonies.

78. It was well understood to be the intention of the king to procure, from the agents, a surrender of the charters, or to annul them by a suit in his courts, that he might himself place officers over the colonies, who would be subservient to his views. The inhabitants of Massachusetts felt that to be deprived of their charter, which secured to them the right of self-government, would be the greatest of calamities; and their agents were instructed, in no emergency, to surrender it. This being known to the king, a prosecution was instituted against the corporation, and, in 1684, a subservient court decreed that the charter should be cancelled.

79. All impediments to the exercise of the royal will being thus removed, king James established a temporary

government over the colony, first appointing Joseph Dudley, and, in 1686, Sir Edmund Andross, governor. This latter appointment caused the most gloomy forebodings. Sir Edmund had been governor of New-York, and it was known that his conduct there had been arbitrary and tyrannical.

80. Having secured a majority in the council, he assumed control over the press, appointing Randolph licenser. He established new and oppressive regulations concerning taxes, public worship, marriages, and the settlement of estates. He, and, by his permission, his subordinate officers, extorted enormous fees for their services. He declared that, the charter being cancelled, the old titles to land were of no validity, and compelled the inhabitants, in order to avoid suits before judges dependent on his will, to take out new patents, for which large sums were demanded.

81. The hatred of the people was excited in proportion to their sufferings. In the beginning of 1689, a rumor reached Boston, that William, prince of Orange, had invaded England, with the intention of dethroning the king. Animated by the hope of deliverance, the people rushed spontaneously to arms, took possession of the fort, seized Andross, Randolph, and other obnoxious persons, and placed them in confinement. A council of safety, consisting of their former magistrates, was then organized, to administer the government until authentic intelligence should be received from England.

82. In a few weeks a ship arrived, bringing the glad tidings that William and Mary were firmly seated on the throne. They were immediately proclaimed, in all the colonies, with unusual rejoicings. The people of Massachusetts applied for the restoration of their old, or the grant of a new charter. A definite answer was deferred, but the council was authorized to administer the government, according to the provisions of the old charter, until further directions should be given. Andross, Randolph, and others, were ordered home for trial.

83. In this unsettled state of the country, the French in Canada and Nova Scotia, instigated the northern and eastern Indians to commence hostilities against the English settlements. Dover and Salmon Falls, in New-Hampshire, Casco, in Maine, and Schenectady, in New-York, were attacked by different parties of French and Indians, and the most shocking barbarities perpetrated upon the inhabitants.

84. Regarding Canada as the principal source of their miseries, New-England and New-York formed the bold project of reducing it to subjection. By great exertion, they raised an army, which, under the command of General Winthrop, was sent against Montreal, and equipped a fleet, which, commanded by Sir William Phipps, was destined to attack Quebec.

85. Both returned unsuccessful, disappointing the sanguine hopes of the people, and burdening them with a debt which they had not the means of discharging. To pay off her troops, Massachusetts put in circulation bills of credit, or paper money, an expedient which was afterwards often resorted to, and, though it afforded relief at the moment, produced, in its consequences, extensive and complicated mischief.

86. In the mean time, a new charter had been granted to Massachusetts, which added Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia, to her territory. The only privilege it allowed to the people was, the choice of representatives. These were to elect a council, and both bodies were to constitute the legislative power. It reserved to the king the right of appointing the governor and lieutenant governor. To the governor it gave the power of rejecting laws, of negativing the choice of counsellors, of appointing all military and judicial officers, of adjourning and even of dissolving the assembly at pleasure. Laws, although approved by him, might be abrogated by the king, within three years after their enactment.

87. The king, to render the new charter more acceptable, appointed Sir William Phipps, a native of the province, governor, and in 1692, he arrived at Boston. The new government went into operation without any opposition from the inhabitants; and almost the first act of Sir William Phipps and his council, was the institution of a court to try the unfortunate victims of popular delusion, accused of witchcraft, at Salem.

88. The belief in this supposed crime, had been so prevalent in England, that parliament had enacted a law punishing it with death. Under this law, multitudes had been tried and executed in that country, and two or three in Massachusetts, some of whom acknowledged they were guilty. Accounts of these trials and confessions, and particularly of some trials before Sir Matthew Hale, a judge revered in the colonies, had been published and distributed throughout the country. They were read, in a

time of deep distress and gloom, by a people naturally sedate, and accustomed to regard with awe the surprising and unaccountable incidents and appearances which, in this new world, were often presented to their contemplation.

89. In February, 1692, a daughter and a niece of Mr. Paris, the minister of Salem, were afflicted with disorders affecting their bodies in the most singular manner. The physicians, unable to account for their contortions, pronounced them bewitched; and the children, hearing of this, declared that an Indian woman, who lived in the house, was the cause of their torments. Mr. Paris concurred with the physicians. Several private fasts were kept at his house, and the gloom was increased by a solemn fast throughout the colony.

90. The Indian woman confessed herself guilty. The children were visited, noticed, and pitied. This encouraged them to persevere, and other children, either from sympathy or the desire of similar attentions, exhibited similar contortions. A distracted old woman, and one who had been a long time confined to her bed, were added to the list of the accused; and, in the progress of the infatuation, women of mature age united with the children in their accusations.

91. The accused were multiplied in proportion to the accusers. Children accused their parents, and parents their children. A word from those who were supposed to be afflicted, occasioned the arrest of the devoted victim; and so firmly convinced were the magistrates, that the prince of darkness was in the midst of them, using human intruments to accomplish his purposes, that the slightest testimony was deemed sufficient to justify a commitment for trial.

92. The court, especially instituted for this purpose, held a session in June, and afterwards several others by adjournment. Many were tried, and received sentence of death. A few pleaded guilty. Several were convicted upon testimony, which, at other times, would not have induced suspicion of an ordinary crime, and some upon testimony retracted after conviction. Nineteen were executed, and many yet remained to be tried.

93. At this stage of the proceedings, the legislature established, by law, a permanent court, by which the other was superseded, and fixed a distant day for its first session at Salem. In the mean time, the accusations multiplied, and additional jails were required to hold the accused.

The impostors, hardened by impunity and success, ascended from decrepid old women, to respectable characters, and at length, in their ravings, named ministers of the gospel, and even the wife of the governor.

94. The community were thrown into consternation. Each felt alarm for himself, his family, and friends. The shock roused them to reflection. They considered more closely the character of the accusers; the nature of the alleged crime; the testimony, often contradictory and never explicit; and more than all these, the high standing of some who were implicated; and began to doubt whether they had not been too credulous and precipitate.

95. At the next term, the grand jury found indictments against fifty; but, on trial, all were acquitted except three, and them the governor reprieved. He also directed that all who were in prison should be set at liberty. A belief, however, of the truth of the charges, still lingered among the people, and prevented any prosecution of the impostors. That all were impostors, cannot be believed. Many must have acted under the influence of a disordered imagination, which the attendant circumstances were well calculated to produce.

96. Besides establishing courts of justice, the legislature, at its first session under the new charter, passed a law which indicates the same independent spirit that afterwards resisted the usurpations of the British parliament. It provided that no tax should be imposed upon any of his majesty's subjects, or their estates, in the province, but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of the people, in general court assembled. It is almost superfluous to say, that this law was disallowed by the king.

97. The war with the French and Indians, which began in 1690, was not yet terminated. For seven years were the frontier settlements harassed by the savages; and the English employed in expeditions against them. A history of these would consist only of repeated accounts of Indian cunning and barbarity, and of English enterprise and fortitude. Peace between England and France, which took place in 1697, was soon followed by peace with the savages.

98. But in a few years, war again broke out in Europe, which was the signal for hostilities in America. The first blow fell upon Deerfield. In February, 1704, it was surprised in the night, about forty persons were killed, and

more than one hundred made prisoners, among whom were Mr. Williams, the minister, and his family. The killed were scalped, and the prisoners commanded to prepare for a long march to Canada.

99. On the second day, Mrs. Williams was so exhausted with fatigue that she could go no farther. Her husband solicited permission to remain with her; but the retreating savages, according to their custom in such cases, killed her and compelled him to proceed. Before the termination of their journey, twenty more became unable to walk, and were in like manner sacrificed. Those who survived the journey to Canada were treated by the French with humanity; and after a captivity of many years, most of them were redeemed, and returned to their friends.

100. New-York having agreed with the French and the western Indians to remain neutral, these were enabled to pour their whole force upon Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, the inhabitants of which, for ten years, endured miseries peculiar to an Indian war, and more distressing than their descendants can well imagine. The enemy were at all times prowling about the frontier settlements, watching in concealment for an opportunity to strike a sudden blow and fly with safety. The women and children retired into the garrisons; the men left their fields uncultivated, or labored with arms at their sides, and with sentinels at every point whence an attack could be apprehended.

101. Yet notwithstanding these precautions, the enemy were often successful, killing sometimes an individual only, sometimes a whole family, sometimes a band of laborers, ten or twelve in number; and so swift were they in their movements, that but few fell into the hands of the whites. It was computed, that the sum of one thousand pounds was expended for every Indian killed or made captive.

102. In 1707, Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Rhode Island despatched an armament against Port Royal, in Nova Scotia, which was then in possession of the French. It returned without accomplishing its object. In 1710, New-England, assisted by a fleet furnished by the mother country, succeeded in reducing the place; and its name, in compliment to queen Anne, was changed to Annapolis.

103. The success of this enterprise encouraged the commander, general Nicholson, to visit England and propose an expedition against Canada. His proposition was adopted, and in June, 1711, admiral Walker, with a fleet of fifteen ships of war, and forty transports, bringing an

army of veteran troops, arrived at Boston. Taking on board two additional regiments, he sailed from that port about the last of July. At the same time, general Nicholson repaired to Albany to take command of the troops that were to proceed by land.

104. When the fleet had advanced ten leagues up the river St. Lawrence, the weather became tempestuous and foggy. A difference of opinion arose concerning the course to be pursued, the English pilots recommending one course, and the colonial another. The admiral, entertaining, like all other English officers, an opinion of the abilities of the colonists corresponding with their dependent condition, adopted the advice of his own pilots. Pursuing the course they recommended, nine transports were driven, about midnight, upon the rocks and dashed to pieces.

105. From every quarter cries of distress arose, conveying, through the darkness, to those who were yet afloat, intelligence of the fate of their comrades and of their own danger. The shrieks of the drowning pleaded powerfully for assistance, but none could be afforded until the morning dawned, when six or seven hundred, found floating on the scattered wrecks, were rescued from death, more than a thousand having sunk to rise no more. Not a single American was lost.

106. Weakened by this terrible disaster, the admiral determined to return to England, where he arrived in the month of October. Thither misfortune attended him. On the fifteenth, his ship blew up and four hundred seamen perished. The New-England troops returned to their homes, and Nicholson, having learned the fate of the fleet, led back his troops to Albany. The next year the colonies found no repose. In 1713, France and England made peace at Utrecht, and, in the same year, peace was concluded with the Indians.

107. Such was the destruction of lives in this war, that the population of New-England was sensibly retarded. Her expenses were also enormous. Although the annual taxes paid by the inhabitants, were greater than in any other portion of the British empire, yet the colonies most exposed, were burdened, at the close of the war, with a heavy debt, in the shape of bills of credit, or paper money, which impeded their prosperity, perplexing individuals and the government in all their transactions.

108. In 1716, Samuel Shute, a colonel in the army of the celebrated duke of Marlborough, was appointed gov-

ernor. On his arrival in the province, he found the people divided into two parties, one in favor of a public bank, which had just been established, the other of the incorporation of a private bank. He joined the former, the latter of course became hostile; and, led by a Mr. Cooke, opposed with virulence all his measures.

109. In 1720, this party, embracing a majority of the representatives, elected their leader speaker. The choice was communicated to the governor, who interposed his negative. The house persisted in their choice, denying his right to interfere. The controversy continued several days, when the governor dissolved the assembly, and directed that a new election should be made by the people.

110. The charter not giving, in express terms, to the governor, the power to reject a speaker, the people resolved to support their representatives, and nearly all of them were again elected. When met, to avoid a second dissolution, they chose a Mr. Lindall speaker; but in a warm remonstrance to the governor, condemned his conduct, and re-asserted their sole and exclusive right to choose their presiding officer.

111. The session was short, and but little was done that did not display the angry feelings of the house. Instead of six hundred pounds, the usual grant to the governor for half a year's salary, they appropriated but five hundred, and, as a mark of their displeasure, deferred that act until near the close of the session.

112. At their next meeting, the same feelings prevailed and the same diminished sum was voted. The governor then informed them, that he had been instructed by the king to recommend to the assembly, to establish for him a permanent and honorable salary. The house, aware of the importance of retaining the power of granting such sums as the governor might merit by his conduct, replied, that the subject was new, and expressed a wish that the court might rise. With this request the governor complied.

113. This disagreement continued, the ill temper of both parties increasing, through several subsequent sessions. The representatives, confident of the support of the people, refused to establish a permanent salary for the governor, and often withheld the pittance they gave, until he had sanctioned those measures which they desired should be adopted.

114. His residence in the province being rendered, by this dispute, unpleasant, he suddenly and privately quitted

it, in December, 1722. Upon his arrival in England, he exhibited charges against the house, of having made various encroachments upon the king's perogative, which the agents of the province were instructed to answer and repel.

115. He remained in England until 1728, when he resigned his office, and William Burnet, then governor of New-York, was appointed his successor. In his first speech, he informed the house that he had received positive instructions from the king to insist on a permanent salary. The representatives, generous of their money but tenacious of their rights, appropriated three hundred pounds for the expenses of his journey, and fourteen hundred pounds towards his support, not specifying for what time. The first sum he accepted; but absolutely declined receiving any compensation for his services, except in the mode of a fixed salary.

116. The delegates were equally decided; and having transacted all their necessary business, requested the governor, by message, to adjourn them. He replied, that he could not comply with their request, as, if he did, he should put it out of their power to pay immediate regard to the king's instructions. A few days afterwards, the request was again made and again denied.

117. Messages, containing arguments and replies, were often interchanged by the parties. After two months had been consumed in the controversy, the governor, imagining the members were influenced by the citizens of Boston, transferred the general court to Salem. They were detained there two months; were then allowed to return to their homes; were again assembled after a short recess; and having sat seventeen days, were again adjourned without exhibiting any symptoms of compliance.

118. A new assembly was elected, and several sessions in the summer of 1729, displaying the same spirit as the former. In the mean time, information was transmitted from England, that the king approved the conduct of the governor, and condemned that of the house. Still the members continued inflexible. In August, they were removed to Cambridge, which served to exasperate rather than to convince them. Here, however, the controversy was suspended, for a time, by the death of the governor, which was supposed to have been hastened by his unsuccessful contest with the house of representatives.

119. His successor was Mr. Belcher, then agent in England. As he belonged to the popular party, his appointment gave rise to the expectation, that the instruction, to obtain a permanent salary, was withdrawn. But from his first speech it appeared, that it was not only unrescinded, but enforced by a threat of punishment in case of refusal.

120. The house, unintimidated by the threat, refused. The governor, during the two first years of his administration, made several attempts to induce them to comply. All failing, he endeavored to obtain a relaxation of his instructions. Permission was at length granted that he might receive a particular sum, which was voted, and a similar permission was afterwards annually given. Thus ended a contest which prepared the people of Massachusetts to embark in another in which more important rights were to be defended.

121. These turbulent times were succeeded by a calm which continued several years; during which, however, the enemies of governor Belcher, by incessant misrepresentation, deprived him of the favor of the ministry in England. In 1740, he was removed from office, and Mr. William Shirley appointed in his place.

122. In 1744, war again broke out between England and France, and the colonies were involved in its calamities. Their commerce and fisheries suffered great injury from privateers, fitted out at Louisburg, a French port, on cape Breton. Its situation gave it such importance, that nearly six millions of dollars had been expended on its fortifications. Mr. Vaughan, of New-Hampshire, who had often visited that place as a trader, conceived the project of an expedition against it. He communicated it to governor Shirley, and, being ardent and enthusiastic, convinced him that the enterprise was practicable, and inspired him with his own enthusiasm.

123. Having exacted of the general court an oath of secrecy, the governor, in January, 1745, communicated to them the project. Many heard it with amazement. So strong was the place, and so weak comparatively were the colonies, that the thought of attacking it seemed rash and presumptuous. From respect to him, however, his proposal was referred to a committee; they reported against it, the house accepted the report, and the members dismissed from their minds all thoughts of the expedition.

124. During the secret deliberations the people watched

with anxiety to ascertain their object. The disclosure was made by an honest member, who incautiously, in his family devotions, prayed for the divine blessing on the attempt, should it be made. The people were instantly struck with the advantage of possessing the place. When the decision was made known, a petition, signed by a large number of merchants, was presented to the general court, praying them to comply with the governor's proposal. The subject was again discussed, and a vote in favor of the expedition was passed by a majority of one.

125. The question was now decided, and all who were before averse to the enterprise, united heartily with its supporters to carry it into execution. The other New-England colonies were solicited, and agreed to furnish assistance; and a boat was despatched to commodore Warren, in the West Indies, to invite his co-operation. Colonel Pepperell was appointed commander-in-chief, and Roger Wolcott, of Connecticut, second in command.

126. In two months, an army of more than four thousand men was enlisted, clothed, victualled, and equipped for service, in the four New-England colonies, which did not then contain four hundred thousand inhabitants. On the 23d of March, the despatch boat returned from the West Indies, with advice that commodore Warren declined furnishing aid. This intelligence was kept secret. The troops of Massachusetts embarked, as though nothing discouraging had happened, and about the middle of April, they, as well as those sent by Connecticut and New-Hampshire, arrived safe at Canso.

127. Commodore Warren had but just despatched his answer, when he received orders to repair to Boston with such ships as could be spared, and concert measures with governor Shirley for his majesty's service in North America. He sailed instantly, but learning, in his course, that the transports had left Boston for Canso, he steered directly for that place, where he arrived on the 23d of Apirl. He added much to their naval strength, and much to that confidence, which, by promising, ensures victory.

128. Several vessels of war, which had been sent to cruise before Louisburg, had captured a number of French ships, and prevented any intelligence of the expedition from reaching the enemy. These vessels were daily in sight of the place, but were supposed to be privateers, and caused no alarm. The appearance of the fleet, on the 30th of April, gave the French the first intimation of their danger.

129. The troops immediately landed, and the next day a detachment of four hundred, marching round the hills, approached within a mile of the grand battery, setting fire to all the houses and stores on the way. Many of these contained pitch and tar, which produced a thick smoke, that completely enveloped the invaders. The fears of the French were increased by their uncertainty. They imagined the whole army was coming upon them, and, throwing their powder into a well, deserted the battery, of which the New-England troops took possession without loss.

130. This was uncommon good fortune; but the most difficult labors of the siege remained to be performed. The cannon were to be drawn nearly two miles, over a deep morass, in plain view, and within gun-shot, of the enemy's principal fortifications. For fourteen nights, the troops, with straps over their shoulders, and sinking to their knees in mud, were employed in this service.

131. The approaches were then begun in the mode which seemed most proper to the shrewd understandings of untaught militia. Those officers, who were skilled in the art of war, talked of *zigzags* and *epaulements;* but the troops made themselves merry with the terms, and proceeded in their own way. By the 20th of May, they had erected five batteries, one of which mounted five forty-two pounders, and did great execution.

132. Meanwhile the fleet, cruising in the harbor, had been equally successful. It captured a French ship of sixty-four guns, loaded with stores for the garrison, to whom the loss was as distressing, as to the besiegers the capture was fortunate. English ships of war, were, besides, continually arriving, and added such strength to the fleet that a combined attack upon the town was resolved upon. The enemy, discovering this design, deemed it unwise to abide the hazard of an assault. On the 15th of June, the French commander proposed a cessation of hostilities, and, on the 17th capitulated.

133. Intelligence of this event, flying swiftly through the colonies, diffused great and universal joy. And well might the citizens of New-England be elated with the glad tidings. Without even a suggestion from the mother country, they had projected, and, with but little assistance, had achieved, an enterprise of vast importance to her and to them. Their commerce and fisheries were now secure, and their maritime cities relieved from all fear of attack from that quarter.

134. France, fired with resentment at her loss, made extraordinary exertions to retrieve it, and to inflict chastisement on New-England. The next summer, she despatched to the American coast a powerful fleet, carrying a large number of soldiers. The news of its approach spread terror throughout New-England; but an uncommon succession of disasters, which the pious of that time attributed to the special interposition of Providence, deprived it of all power to inflict injury. After remaining a short time on the coast, it returned to France, having lost two admirals, both of whom, it was supposed, put an end to their lives through chagrin; having also, by tempests, been reduced to one half its force, and effected nothing.

135. In 1748, peace was concluded, each party restoring all its prisoners and conquests; a striking, but not uncommon, illustration of the folly of war. Louisburg, though conquered by the colonies, was exchanged, by Great Britain, for territories which she had lost in Europe. New-England murmured at this injustice; but what avail the murmurs of the weak?

136. From this period to the commencement of the next French war, but few important events occurred in Massachusetts. The bills of credit, which the colony had issued to defray its enormous expenditure, were redeemed by the government, at their depreciated value. This example was followed, though tardily, by the other governments. At the time of their redemption, they were worth no more, in some colonies, than one tenth, and in others, one twentieth, of the sum for which they had been issued.

CHAPTER III.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

With the history of Massachusetts, the parent of the New-England colonies, that of New-Hampshire has been necessarily blended. A brief relation of some detached events, which occurred in the latter colony, will now be given.

2. John Mason, Ferdinand Gorges, and others, having obtained, of the Plymouth or New-England Company, grants of several tracts of land, lying north of Massachusetts, sent from England, in 1623, a few persons to begin

a settlement. Part landed, and, for a short time, remained at Little Harbor, on the west side of Piscataqua river, and near its mouth. Here the first house was built, which was called Mason Hall. The remainder, proceeding higher up the river, settled at Cocheco, afterwards called Dover.

3. Fishing and trade being the principal objects of these emigrants, their settlements increased slowly. In 1629, the territory situated between Merrimac and Piscataqua rivers, and extending sixty miles from the sea, was granted to Mason alone, and then first called New-Hampshire. In 1631, the first house was built at Portsmouth. In 1638, the Reverend John Wheelwright, who, in 1629, but previous to the date of Mason's patent, had purchased the land of the Indians, laid the foundation of Exeter. The next year, thirty-five persons, residing in that town, combined and established civil government. Within a year or two afterwards, the inhabitants of Dover and Portsmouth followed their example, each town remaining distinct and independent.

4. In 1641, these little republics, distrusting their ability to protect themselves, formed a coalition with Massachusetts, and long remained a part of that colony. The civil wars in England diverted the attention of Mason from his grant, and those who migrated to the country purchased of Wheelwright, the lands which they occupied. In the war with Philip, the settlements on Piscataqua and Oyster rivers, were attacked by the Indians, and suffered severely.

5. In 1675, Robert Mason, grandson and heir of John Mason, applied to the king to obtain possession of the territory and rights which had been granted to his ancestor. Notice of this application was given to Massachusetts, and the parties were heard before the king in council. In 1679, a decree was passed, that New-Hampshire should be constituted a separate province, to be ruled by a president and council, who were to be appointed by the king, and a house of representatives to be chosen by the people. No decision was made affecting the titles to land.

6. The first assembly, consisting of eleven members, met, in 1680, at Portsmouth. At this session, a code of laws was adopted, of which the first, in a style worthy of freemen, declared, "that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, should be imposed upon the inhabitants of the province, but such as should be made by the assembly, and approved by the president and council." This was

twelve years previous to the enactment of a similar law in Massachusetts.

7. In the same year, Mason, who had been appointed a member of the council, arrived in the colony. He assumed the title of lord proprietor, claimed the soil as his property, and threatened to prosecute all who would not take from him leases of the lands they occupied. His pretensions were resisted by most of the inhabitants, who claimed the fee-simple of the soil by a more righteous, if not more legal title.

8. The peace of the colony was long disturbed by these conflicting claims. At the head of those who contended with Mason, stood major Waldron, of Dover. Against him, and many others, suits were instituted. No defence was made, judgments were obtained, but so general was the hostility to Mason, that he never dared to enforce them.

9. Over Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, the same governor usually presided. After Andross was deposed, the inhabitants of the latter colony desired to be incorporated with their former brethren. Their request was opposed by Samuel Allen, who had purchased Mason's title, and was refused. Allen was made governor of the colony, and, by his influence, John Usher, his son-in-law, was appointed lieutenant governor. Under his administration, the disputes, occasioned by adverse claims to land, continued to rage with increased violence. Other suits were instituted, and judgments obtained; but the sheriff was forcibly resisted, by a powerful combination, whenever he attempted to put the plaintiff in possession.

10. From Indian wars this colony suffered more than any of her sisters. The surprise of Dover, in 1689, was attended by circumstances of the most shocking barbarity. That the natives had been cruelly injured by major Waldron, the principal citizen, may account for, if not extenuate, their ferocity in obtaining revenge.

11. Having determined upon their plan of attack, they employed more than their usual art, to lull the suspicions of the inhabitants. So civil and respectful was their behavior, that they often obtained permission to sleep in the fortified houses in the town. On the evening of the fatal night, they assembled in the neighborhood, and sent their women to apply for lodgings, at the houses devoted to destruction; who were not only admitted, but were shown how they could open the doors should they have occasion to go out in the night.

12. When all was quiet, the doors were opened and the signal given. The Indians rushed into Waldron's house, and hastened to his apartment. Awakened by the noise, he seized his sword and drove them back, but when returning for his other arms, was stunned with a hatchet, and fell. They then dragged him into his hall, seated him in an elbow chair, upon a long table, and insultingly asked him, "who shall judge Indians now?" After feasting upon provisions, which they compelled the rest of the family to procure, each one, with his knife, cut gashes across his breast, saying, "I cross out my account." When, weakened with the loss of blood, he was about to fall from the table, his own sword was held under him, which put an end to his misery.

13. At other houses, similar acts of cruelty were perpetrated. In the whole, twenty-three persons were killed, twenty-nine carried prisoners to Canada, and mostly sold to the French. Remembering kindness as well as injury, they spared one woman, who, thirteen years before, had conferred a favor on one of the party. Many houses were burned, much property was plundered, and so expeditious were the Indians, that they had fled beyond reach before the neighboring people could be collected.

14. The war thus commenced was prosecuted with great vigor. The French, by giving premiums for scalps, and by purchasing the English prisoners, animated the Indians to exert all their activity and address, and the frontier inhabitants endured the most aggravated sufferings. The settlements on Oyster river were again surprised; twenty houses were burned, and nearly one hundred persons were killed or made prisoners. Other towns were attacked, many persons slain, and many carried into captivity. The peace of Ryswick, in 1697, closed the distressing scene. In 1703, another war began, which continued ten years.

15. In 1719, above one hundred families, mostly Presbyterians, emigrated from the north of Ireland, and settled the town of Londonderry. They introduced the foot spinning-wheel, the manufacture of linen, and the culture of potatoes. They were industrious, hardy, and useful citizens.

16. From 1722, to 1726, the inhabitants again suffered the afflictions of an Indian war. Following the example of the French, the government offered premiums for scalps, which induced several volunteer companies to undertake expeditions against the enemy. One of these, commanded

by captain Lovewell, was greatly distinguished, at first by its successes, and afterwards by its misfortunes.

17. Long after the transfer from Mason to Allen, some defect in the conveyance was discovered, which rendered it void. In 1746, John Tufton Mason, a descendant of the original grantee, claiming the lands possessed by his ancestors, conveyed them, for fifteen hundred pounds, to twelve persons, subsequently called the Masonian proprietors. They, to silence opposition, voluntarily relinquished their claim to the lands already occupied by others.

18. They also granted townships on the most liberal terms. Reserving certain portions of the land for themselves, for the first settled ministers, and for schools, they required merely that the grantees should, within a limited time, erect mills and meeting houses, clear out roads, and settle ministers of the gospel. In process of time, nearly all the Masonian lands, being about one fourth of the whole, were, in this manner, granted; and contention and lawsuits ceased to disturb the repose, and to impede the prosperity of the colony.

CHAPTER IV.

CONNECTICUT.

In 1631, viscount Say and Seal, lord Brook, and others, obtained from the Plymouth Company, in England, a grant of the territory which now constitutes the state of Connecticut; and so little was then known of the geography of the new world, that the grant was made to extend, in longitude, from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea. In the same year, the Indians, living on Connecticut river, having invited the colony of Plymouth to make a settlement on their lands, governor Winslow, and others, visited the country, and selected a place near the mouth of the little river in Windsor, for the erection of a trading house.

2. The Dutch at New-York, apprized of this project of the English, and determined to anticipate them, immediately despatched a party, who erected a fort at Hartford. In September, 1633, a company from Plymouth, having prepared the frame of a house, put it on board a vessel, and, passing the fort, conveyed it to the place previously selected. In October, they raised, covered, and fortified

it with palisades. The Dutch, considering them intruders, sent, the next year, a party of seventy men to drive them from the country, but finding them strongly posted, they relinquished the design.

3. In the autumn of 1635, many of the inhabitants of Dorchester and Watertown, in Massachusetts, having heard of the fertile meadows on Connecticut river, removed thither, and began settlements at Weathersfield and Windsor. During the next winter, their sufferings from famine were extreme. So destitute were they of provisions, that many, in dread of starvation, returned, in December, to Massachusetts. In their journey through the dreary wilderness, at this inclement season, they encountered indescribable hardships.

4. In the same autumn, Mr. Winthrop arrived from England, with instructions from the patentees to erect a fort at the mouth of the river, and make the requisite preparation for planting a colony. The fort was but just completed when a party, sent, for the same purpose, by the Dutch, at New-York, arrived in a vessel, but were not permitted to land.

5. The next spring, those who had been compelled by famine to revisit Massachusetts, returned to Connecticut. In June, the Reverend Mr. Hooker, of Cambridge, and about one hundred men, women, and children, belonging to his congregation, travelling through the wilderness, laid the foundation of Hartford. They were nearly two weeks on their journey; they drove their cattle with them, and subsisted, by the way, upon the milk of their cows.

6. In 1637, all the settlements in New England were involved in hostilities with the Pequods, a tribe of Indians inhabiting New London and the country around it. Some account of this war has been given in the history of Massachusetts. Previous to any expedition against them, they had killed many of the emigrants to Connecticut, had captured others, and tortured them to death. In the short war which followed, their surviving brethren, for bravery in battle and fortitude in suffering, were not surpassed by any portion of the English troops.

7. At first, the emigrants acknowledged the authority of Massachusetts. In January, 1639, the freemen, having convened at Hartford, adopted a constitution for themselves. They ordained that two general courts, or assemblies, should be held annually, one in April, the other in September; that at the court held in April, styled the court

of election, the freemen should choose a governor, six magistrates, and all the public officers; that to the other, the several towns should send deputies, who, in conjunction with the governor and magistrates, were authorized to enact laws, and perform all necessary public services. No general court could be adjourned or dissolved, without the consent of a major part of the members.

8. In the same year, George Fenwick, one of the patentees, came over with his family, and settled at the mouth of the river. In honor of lord Say and Seal, and lord Brook, he called the place Saybrook. Others afterwards joined him; and for several years, they were governed by their own magistrates and laws. In 1644, Mr. Fenwick, for seven thousand dollars, assigned to the general court of Connecticut, the fort at Saybrook, and all the rights conferred by the patent from the Plymouth company in England. This settlement then became a part of the colony. The claim of Plymouth colony, founded upon their having first made an establishment at Windsor, had been previously purchased.

9. In the mean time, another colony had been planted within the limits of the Connecticut patent. In June, 1637, two large ships arrived at Boston, from England, having on board Mr. Davenport, Mr. Eaton, and many others, whom pious motives had impelled to emigrate to New-England. Being highly respectable, and some of them possessing great wealth, the general court of Massachusetts, desirous of detaining them in the colony, offered them any place they might select for a plantation.

10. Wishing, however, to institute a civil and religious community, conforming in all things to their peculiar principles, they removed, the next year, to Quinnipac, which they called New Haven. Soon after their arrival, at the close of a day of fasting and prayer, they subscribed what they termed a plantation covenant, solemnly binding themselves, "until otherwise ordered, to be governed in all things, of a civil as well as religious concern, by the rules which the scripture held forth to them." They purchased of the natives, large tracts of land; and laid out their towns in squares, designing it for a great and elegant city.

11. In 1639, all the free planters, assembled in a large barn, proceeded to lay the foundation of their civil and religious polity. They resolved that none but church members should be allowed the privilege of voting, or be

elected to office; that all the freemen should annually assemble and elect the officers of the colony; and that the word of God should be the only rule for ordering the affairs of the commonwealth. Such was the original constitution of New-Haven; but as the population increased, and new towns were settled, different regulations were adopted, and the institutions and laws became gradually assimilated to those of Connecticut.

12. With the Dutch at New-York, both colonies had constant and vexatious disputes. The former claimed all the territory as far east as Connecticut river; the latter complained that the Dutch often plundered their property; that they sold guns and ammunition to the Indians, and even encouraged them to make war upon the English. The fear of attack from that quarter, was one of the reasons which, in 1643, induced the colonies of New-England to form a confederation for their mutual defence.

13. In 1650, a treaty of amity and partition was concluded at Hartford, between the English and Dutch, the latter relinquishing their claim to the territory of Connecticut, except the lands which they actually occupied. Soon after, England and Holland were involved in war with each other, but their colonies in America agreed to remain at peace. Notwithstanding this agreement, the Dutch governor was detected in concerting with the Indians a plot for the total extirpation of the English.

14. Connecticut and New-Haven were alarmed; a meeting of the commissioners of the united colonies, was called, and evidence of the plot laid before them. A majority was in favor of war; but the colony of Massachusetts, being remote from the danger, was averse to it. As she was much stronger than either of the others, it was, at the suggestion of her deputies, resolved, that agents should first be sent to demand of the Dutch governor an explanation of his conduct.

15. The agents obtained no satisfactory explanation. On their return, another meeting of the commissioners was held at Boston, additional testimony was laid before them, and several ministers of Massachusetts were invited to assist at their deliberations, a practice not unusual at that period.

16. The opinion of these ministers being requested, they observed, "that the proofs of the execrable plot, tending to the destruction of the dear saints of God, were of such weight as to induce them to believe the reality

of it; yet they were not so fully conclusive as to bear up their hearts with the fulness of persuasion which was meet in commending the case to God in prayer, and to the people in exhortations; and that it would be safest for the colonies to forbear the use of the sword."

17. But all the commissioners, except one, were of opinion that recent aggressions justified, and self preservation dictated, an appeal to the sword. They were about to declare war, when the general court of Massachusetts in direct violation of one of the articles of the confederation, resolved, "that no determination of the commissioners, though all should agree, should bind the colony to engage in hostilities."

18. At this declaration, Connecticut and New-Haven felt alarmed and indignant. They considered the other colonies too weak, without the assistance of Massachusetts, to contend with the Dutch and their Indian allies. They argued, entreated, and remonstrated, but she continued inflexible. They then represented their danger to Cromwell, and implored his assistance. He, with his usual promptitude, sent a fleet for their protection, and for the conquest of their enemies; but peace in Europe, intelligence of which reached New-England soon after the arrival of the fleet, saved the Dutch from subjugation, and relieved the colonies from the dread of massacre.

19. After Charles II was restored to the throne, Connecticut applied to him for a royal charter. A trifling circumstance induced him, forgetting all his arbitrary maxims, to comply with her wishes to their utmost extent. Her agent, Mr. Winthrop, having an extraordinary ring, which had been given to his grandfather by Charles I, presented it to his son. He immediately granted a charter, more liberal in its provisions than any that had yet been granted, and confirming, in every particular, the constitution which the people had themselves adopted.

20. This charter comprehended New-Haven; but, for several years, the people of that colony utterly refused to consent to the union. In this opposition to the commands of the king, and the remonstrances of Connecticut, they persevered until 1665, when the apprehension of the appointment of a general governor, and of their being united with some other colony, having a charter less favorable to liberty, impelled them, though reluctantly, to yield.

21. In the war with Philip, which began in 1675, Connecticut suffered less than her sister colonies. Her aid,

however, in full proportion to her strength, was always freely afforded; and no troops surpassed her volunteers in bravery and enterprise. A large number, and many of them officers, were killed at the assault upon the fort at Narraganset.

22. In 1686, king James II, desirous of annulling, not only the charters which had been granted to his English cities, but those also which had been granted to his American colonies, summoned the governor of Connecticut to appear and show cause why her charter should not be declared void. And Sir Edmund Andross, who had been appointed governor of New-England, advised the colony, as the course best calculated to ensure the good will of his majesty, to resign it voluntarily into his hands, he having been instructed to receive it. But the people estimated too highly the privileges it conferred to surrender it until necessity compelled them.

23. Sir Edmund, therefore, repaired, with a body of troops, to Hartford, when the assembly were in session, and demanded of them the charter. They hesitated and debated until evening. It was then produced and laid upon the table, a large number of people being present. Suddenly, the candles were extinguished. With counterfeited haste, they were again relighted; but the charter could no where be found. In the dark, it had been privately carried off, by a captain Wadsworth, and concealed in a hollow tree. Sir Edmund, however, assumed the government of the colony, and ruled with the same absolute sway, though not with the same oppressive tyranny, as in Massachusetts.

24. When James was driven from his throne and kingdom, and his governor deposed, Connecticut resumed her former government. The assembly voted a flattering address to king William. The suit, instituted for the purpose of annulling her charter, was abandoned; and her inhabitants, while enjoying greater privileges than any of their brethren, had reason to congratulate themselves upon their address and good fortune in preserving them.

25. But, not long afterwards, they were again called upon to defend these privileges from encroachment. In 1692, colonel Fletcher was appointed governor of New-York, and was authorized, by his commission, to take command of the militia of Connecticut. This power having been given, by the charter, to the governor of the colony, he determined not to relinquish it, and in this determination was supported by the people.

26. The next year, when the general court were in session, colonel Fletcher repaired to Hartford, and required that the militia of the colony should be placed under his command. This was resolutely refused. He then ordered the trainbands of the city to be assembled. This being done, he appeared before them, and directed his aid to read to them his commission and instructions from the king.

27. Captain Wadsworth, the senior officer of the militia present, instantly ordered the drums to beat, and such was the noise, that nothing else could be heard. Colonel Fletcher commanded silence; and again his aid began to read. "Drum, drum, I say," exclaimed Wadsworth, and a command so acceptable to the players, was obeyed with spirit. Once more the colonel commanded silence, and a pause ensued. "Drum, drum, I say," cried the captain, and turning to governor Fletcher, addressed him, with energy in his voice and meaning in his looks, "If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment."

28. Deeming it unwise to contend with such a spirit, colonel Fletcher desisted, left Hartford the next night, and returned to New-York. A representation of the opposing claims being made to the king, he decided that the governor of Connecticut should have the command of the militia; but in time of war, a certain number should be placed under the orders of Fletcher.

29. In 1700, Yale college was founded. It owes its existence to the beneficence and public spirit of the clergy. It was first established at Saybrook; and, in 1702, the first degrees were there conferred. Elihu Yale made several donations to the institution, and from him it derives the name it bears. A succession of able instructers has raised it to the second rank among the literary institutions of the country.

30. In 1708, an act was passed by the legislature, requiring the ministers and delegates of churches to meet and form an ecclesiastical constitution for the colony. A meeting was in consequence held at Saybrook, the result of which was the celebrated Saybrook platform. At the subsequent session of the legislature, it was enacted that all the churches, united according to this platform, should be owned as established by law, allowing, however, to other churches, the right of exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences.

31. In the several abortive attempts to reduce the French

settlements in Canada, and in the expedition against Louisburg, Connecticut furnished her full quota of troops, and bore her proportion of the expenses. Of these, a history is elsewhere given. After the death of Philip, most of the Indians abandoned her territory, and seldom returned to molest the inhabitants; who, living in the enjoyment of all the privileges they desired, felt no inducement, and were afforded no opportunity, to perform such actions as enliven the pages of history.

CHAPTER V.

RHODE ISLAND.

Roger Williams, who was banished from Massachusetts, for avowing the doctrine, that the civil magistrate is bound to grant equal protection to every denomination of Christians, a doctrine too liberal for the age in which he lived, repaired to Seeconk, where he procured a grant of land from the Indians. Being informed, by the governor of Plymouth, that the land was within the limits of that colony, he proceeded to Mooshausic, where, in 1636, with those friends who followed him, he began a plantation.

2. He purchased the land of the Indians, and, in grateful acknowledgment of the kindness of heaven, he called the place Providence. Acting in conformity with the wise and liberal principle, for avowing and maintaining which, he had suffered banishment, he allowed entire freedom of conscience to all who came within his borders. And to him must be given the glory of having first set a practical example of the equal toleration of all religious sects in the same political community.

3. His benevolence was not confined to his civilized brethren. He labored to enlighten, improve, and conciliate the savages. He learned their language, travelled among them, and gained the entire confidence of their chiefs. He had often the happiness, by his influence over them, of saving from injury the colony that had proclaimed him an outlaw, and driven him into the wilderness.

4. In 1638, William Coddington, and seventeen others, being persecuted for their religious tenets in Massachusetts, followed Williams to Providence. By his advice, they purchased of the Indians the island of Aquetnec, now

called Rhode Island, and removed thither. Coddington was chosen their judge, or chief magistrate. The fertility of the soil, and the toleration of all christian sects, attracted numerous emigrants from the adjacent settlements.

5. When the New-England colonies, in 1643, formed their memorable confederacy, Rhode Island applied to be admitted a member. Plymouth objected; asserting that the settlements were within her boundaries. The commissioners decided that Rhode Island might enjoy all the advantages of the confederacy, if she would submit to the jurisdiction of Plymouth. She declined, proudly preferring independence to all the benefits of dependent union.

6. In 1644, Williams, having been sent to England as agent for both settlements, obtained of the Plymouth Company, a patent for the territory, and permission for the inhabitants to institute a government for themselves. In 1647, delegates chosen by the freemen, held a general assembly at Portsmouth, organized a government, and established a code of laws. The executive power was confided to a president and four assistants.

7. Upon the application of the inhabitants, the king, in 1663, granted a charter to Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. The supreme, or legislative power, was to be exercised by an assembly, which was to consist of the governor, of ten assistants, and of representatives from the several towns, all to be chosen by the freemen. This assembly granted to all christian sects, except Roman Catholics, the right of voting. In 1665, they authorized, by law, the seizure of the estates of Quakers, who refused to assist in defending the colony; but this law, being generally condemned by the people, was never executed.

8. When Andross was made governor over New-England, he dissolved the charter government of Rhode Island, and ruled the colony, with the assistance of a council appointed by himself. After he was imprisoned, at Boston, the freemen met at Newport, and voted to resume their charter. All the officers who, three years before, had been displaced, were restored.

9. The benevolence, justice, and pacific policy of Williams, secured to the colony an almost total exemption from Indian hostility. In 1730, the number of inhabitants was 18,000; in 1761, it was 40,000. Brown University was founded, at Warren, in 1764, and was removed, a few years after, to Providence. Its founder was Nicholas Brown, who gave to the institution five thousand dollars.

CHAPTER VI.

NEW-YORK.

In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman, but sailing in the service of the Dutch East India Company, discovered Long Island, the harbor of New-York, and the river to which his name has been given. In 1613, several Dutch merchants, to whom the republic of Holland had granted the exclusive right of trading to this part of America, erected a fort near Albany, which they named fort Orange, and a few trading houses on the island of New-York, then called, by the Indians, Manhattan.

2. In the same year, captain Argal, who had been sent by Virginia to drive the French from their settlements on the bay of Fundy, visited, on his return, the Dutch on Hudson's river. Claiming the country for his nation, by right of prior discovery, he demanded the acknowledgment of its authority. Being few in number, they prudently submitted, without attempting to resist.

3. But, receiving a reinforcement, the next year, they again asserted the right of Holland to the country, and erected fort Amsterdam, on the south end of the island. The English, for many years, forebore to interfere in their pursuits or claims. In 1621, the republic, desirous of founding a colony in America, granted to the Dutch West India Company, an extensive territory on both sides of the Hudson. The country was called New-Netherlands. The boundaries were not accurately defined, but were considered, by the company, as including Connecticut river at the north, and Delaware river at the south.

4. In 1623, they erected a fort on the Delaware, which they called Nassau; and, ten years aftewards, another on the Connecticut, which they called Good Hope. Near the former, the Swedes had a settlement. From the interfering claims of the two nations, quarrels arose between the settlers, which, after continuing several years, terminated in the subjugation of the Swedes. Towards the fort on the Connecticut, the settlements of the English rapidly approached, and soon occasioned disputes, which had a longer duration and a different result.

5. The Dutch did not escape the calamity of war with the savages. Hostilities commenced in 1643, continued several years, and were very destructive to both parties.

William Kieft, the governor of the New-Netherlands, invited captain Underhill, who had been a soldier in Europe, and had made himself conspicuous in New-Hampshire, by his eccentricities in religion and conduct, to take command of his troops. Collecting a flying party of one hundred and fifty men, he was enabled to preserve the Dutch settlements from total destruction. The number of Indians, whom he killed in the course of the war, was supposed to exceed four hundred. In 1646, a severe battle was fought on that part of Horse-neck called Strickland's Plain. The Dutch were victorious; on both sides great numbers were slain; and for a century afterwards the graves of the dead were distinctly visible.

6. In 1650, Peter Stuyvesant, then the able governor of the New-Netherlands, met the commissioners of the New-England colonies at Hartford, where, after much altercation, a line of partition between their respective territories was fixed by mutual agreement. Long Island was divided between them; the Dutch retained the lands which they occupied in Connecticut, surrendering their claim to the residue.

7. But Charles II, denying their right to any portion of the country, determined to expel them from it. In 1664, he granted to his brother, the duke of York and Albany, all the territory between Nova Scotia and Delaware bay; and though England and Holland were then at peace, immediately sent three ships and three hundred troops to put him in possession of his grant. Colonel Robert Nichols conducted the expedition. The squadron, having visited Boston, reached the place of its destination in August.

8. The commander summoned governor Stuyvesant to surrender the town, promising to secure to the inhabitants their lives, liberty, and property. At first, he refused; but the magistrates and people, allured by the proffered terms, constrained him to consent. Fort Orange surrendered, soon after, to Sir George Carteret. In compliment to the duke, the name, Manhattan, was changed to New-York, and Orange to Albany.

9. Nichols assumed the government of the country he had conquered, and continued, for three years, to rule over it, with absolute power, but with great lenity and justice. During his administration, New-York was made a city. Upon his return to England, he was succeeded by colonel Lovelace, who administered the government with equal moderation.

10. In 1673, England and Holland being then at war, a few Dutch ships were despatched to reconquer the country. On their arrival at Staten Island, a short distance from the city, John Manning, who had command of the fort, sent down a messenger and treacherously made terms with the enemy. The Dutch sailed up the harbor, landed their men, and took possession of the fort and city, without firing or receiving a shot.

11. Captain Anthony Colve was appointed governor, but he retained the authority for a few months only. The next year, peace was concluded, and the country restored to the English. The duke obtained a new patent, confirming his title to the province, and appointed major Andross, the same who was afterwards the tyrant of New-England, to be governor over his territories in America.

12. Neither the administration of Andross, nor that of his successor, Anthony Brockholst, was distinguished by any remarkable event. In 1682, colonel Thomas Dongan, who, as well as the duke, was a Roman Catholic, was appointed governor, and the next year arrived in the colony. Until this time, the governor and council had possessed absolute power. The inhabitants, who, whether Dutch or English, were born the subjects of a state comparatively free, having, in an address to the duke, claimed a share in the legislative authority, colonel Dongan was directed to allow the freeholders to meet and choose representatives.

13. On the 17th of October, the first assembly met, consisting of the council and eighteen representatives. By the declaration of the governor, they were invested with the sole power of enacting laws and levying taxes; but the laws could have no force until ratified by the duke. With this participation of power, the people were gratified and contented; and the colony began to enjoy the inestimable advantages of a regular government.

14. The interior of New-York was originally inhabited by a confederacy which consisted at first of five, and afterwards of six, nations of Indians. This confederacy was formed for mutual defence against the Algonquins, a powerful Canadian nation, and displayed much of the wisdom and sagacity which mark the institutions of a civilized people. By their union, they had become formidable to the surrounding tribes. Being the allies of the English, the French were alarmed at their successes, and became jealous of their power.

15. In 1684, De la Barre, the governor of Canada,

marched to attack them, with an army of seventeen hundred men. His troops suffered so much from hardships, famine, and sickness, that he was compelled to ask peace of those whom he had come to exterminate. He invited the chiefs of the five nations to meet him at his camp, and those of three of them accepted the invitation. Standing in a circle, formed by the chiefs and his own officers, he addressed a speech to Garrangula, of the Onondago tribe, in which he accused the confederates of conducting the English to the trading grounds of the French, and threatened them with war and extermination if they did not alter their behavior.

16. Garrangula, knowing the distresses of the French troops, heard these threats with contempt. After walking five or six times round the circle, he addressed the following bold and sarcastic language to De la Barre, calling him Yonnondio, and the English governor, Corlear.

17. "Yonnondio, I honor you, and the warriors that are with me likewise honor you. Your interpreter has finished your speech; I now begin mine. My words make haste to reach your ears; hearken to them. Yonnondio, you must have believed, when you left Quebec, that the sun had consumed all the forests which render our country inaccessible to the French, or that the great lakes had overflown their banks and surrounded our castles, so that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, Yonnondio, you must have dreamed so, and the curiosity of so great a wonder has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived, for I, and the warriors here present, are come to assure you, that the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagos, Oneydoes, and Mohawks, are yet alive.

18. "I thank you, in their name, for bringing back into their country the pipe of peace, which your predecessor received from their hands. It was happy for you that you left under ground that murdering hatchet which has been so often dyed in the blood of the French. Hear, Yonnondio, I do not sleep; I have my eyes open, and the sun which enlightens me, discovers to me a great captain at the head of a company of soldiers, who speaks as if he was dreaming. He says that he only came to smoke the great pipe of peace with the Onondagos. But Garrangula says, that he sees the contrary; that it was to knock them on the head, if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French.

19. "We carried the English to our lakes, to trade there

with the Utawawas, and Quatoghies, as the Adirondacs brought the French to our castles to carry on a trade which the English say is theirs. We are born free; we neither depend on Yonnondio nor Corlear. We may go where we please, and buy and sell what we please. If your allies are your slaves, use them as such; command them to receive no other but your people.

20. "Hear, Yonnondio; what I say is the voice of all the Five Nations. When they buried the hatchet at Cadaracui, in the middle of the fort, they planted the tree of peace in the same place, to be there carefully preserved, that instead of a retreat for soldiers, the fort might be a rendezvous for merchants. Take care that the many soldiers who appear there, do not choke the tree of peace, and prevent it from covering your country and ours with its branches. I assure you that our warriors shall dance under its leaves, and will never dig up the hatchet to cut it down, till their brother Yonnondio or Corlear shall invade the country which the Great Spirit has given to our ancestors."

21. De la Barre was mortified and enraged at this bold reply; but, submitting to necessity, he concluded a treaty of peace, and returned to Montreal. His successor, De Nonville, led a larger army against the confederates; but fell into an ambuscade and was defeated. These wars within the limits of the colony, kept colonel Dongan actively employed, and served to perpetuate the enmity of the Indians against the French, and their attachment to the English.

22. In the mean time, the duke of York ascended the throne of England. Claiming unlimited authority as king, and professing the Catholic religion, he was hated and feared by a great portion of the inhabitants, who were devoted to the cause of freedom, and to the principles of the protestants. The governor was also an object of their dislike and distrust. Catholics, countenanced by him, repaired in great numbers to the colony, and pious protestants trembled for their religion.

23. In the beginning of the year 1689, information was received from England that the people had resolved to dethrone their sovereign, and offer the crown to William, prince of Orange; and from Massachusetts, that the citizens had deposed and imprisoned Sir Edmund Andross, their governor. This encouraged the disaffected, and presented an example for their imitation.

24. Several militia captains assembled to determine on the measures expedient to be adopted. Of these, Jacob Leisler was the most active. He was destitute of every qualification necessary to conduct a difficult enterprise, but possessed the esteem and confidence of the other officers, and of the people. Milborne, his son-in-law, concerted all his measures, and controlled his conduct.

25. They determined to obtain possession of the fort. Leisler entered it with fifty men, and published a declaration in favour of the prince of Orange. The magistrates and most respectable citizens discountenanced the proceeding, and, at first, but few had the courage to declare themselves his friends. To induce them to act, a report was circulated that three ships, with orders from the prince, were sailing up the harbour. His party was instantly augmented by six captains, and nearly five hundred men, a force sufficient to overpower all opposition.

26. Before these disturbances, colonel Dongan had resigned his office, and embarked for England. Lieutenant-governor Nicholson, unable to contend with Leisler, absconded in the night. The province being thus left without a chief magistrate, Leisler was promoted, by his adherents, to that station. He sent an address to king William and queen Mary, whose authority he acknowledged, and, soon after, a private letter to the king, expressing, in low and incorrect language, the warmest protestations of loyalty and zeal.

27. His sudden elevation excited the envy of those magistrates and citizens who had declined to join him in proclaiming king William. Bayard and Courtlandt, unable to raise a party against him in the city, retired to Albany, where their exertions were successful. To diminish their influence, and to allay the jealousy of others, he invited several worthy citizens to unite with him in administering the government, a trust which had been confided to him alone, by the militia.

28. In a few months, however, a letter arrived from the ministry in England, directed "to such as, for the time being, take care for administering the laws of the province," and conferring authority to perform all the duties of lieutenant-governor. Leisler considered this letter addressed to himself, assumed the authority conferred, appointed his council, and issued commissions in his own name.

29. The people of Albany, led by Bayard, Courtlandt,

and Livingston, acknowledged king William, but refused to submit to Leisler. Milborne was sent with a body of troops to enforce obedience, but, finding them united, he returned without attempting it. The next spring, going with a stronger force, he succeeded. The leaders of the party fled, and their property was confiscated. This arbitrary and unjust measure so exasperated the sufferers, that they and their posterity long retained the most violent animosity against Leisler and his adherents.

30. During these troubles in the colony, war was declared between France and England. De Nonville being recalled, count Frontenac was appointed governor of Canada. In January, 1690, he despatched several parties against the English settlements. One of these, consisting of Frenchmen and Caghnuaga Indians, was sent against Albany, but resolved to attack Schenectady. To the inhabitants of this village, information was given of their danger; but they, judging it impossible for the enemy to march several hundred miles in the depth of winter, disregarded the intelligence. No regular watch was kept, nor military order observed.

31. The French and Indians arrived near the town on the eighth of February. They divided their number into small parties, that every house might be invested at the same time. On Saturday night, at eleven o'clock, they entered at the gates which they found unshut. The inhabitants having retired to rest, universal stillness reigned. Suddenly, in every quarter, the horrid yell was heard. They sprang from their beds, conscious of the danger which surrounded them. Opening their doors, they met the savages, with uplifted tomahawks, on the threshold. Each, at the same instant, heard the cry of his affrighted neighbor. Soon succeeded the groans of the dying. In a few minutes, the buildings were on fire. Women were butchered, and children thrown alive into the flames. The Indians, frantic from slaughter, ran, with fatal haste, through the village, massacreing many, who, in their attempts to escape, were betrayed by the light of their own houses.

32. Some eluded their pursuers; but a fate almost as dreadful awaited them. They were naked; a furious storm came on; Albany, their only refuge, was at a distance; and often their terror converted into savages the trees and wild beasts which they saw in their flight. Part

arrived in safety; twenty-five lost their limbs by the severity of the cold. At Schenectady, sixty were killed, and twenty-five made prisoners.

33. To avenge these barbarities, and others perpetrated in New-England, a combined expedition against Canada was projected. An army, raised in New-York and Connecticut, proceeded as far as the head of lake Champlain, whence, finding no boats prepared, they were obliged to return. Sir William Phipps, with a fleet of more than thirty vessels, sailed from Boston into the St. Lawrence, and, landing a body of troops, made an attack by land and water upon Quebec; but the return of the army to New-York, allowing the whole force of the enemy to repair to the assistance of the garrison, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise. To the misconduct or incapacity of Leisler and Milborne, the failure of this expedition was attributed.

34. As soon as king William could find leisure to attend to his colonies, he appointed colonel Henry Sloughter governor of New-York. Never was a governor more necessary to the province, and never, perhaps, has it been ruled by one less qualified for the station. He was destitute of talents, licencious, avaricious and a bankrupt.

35. Leisler, when informed of this appointment, ought to have relinquished the authority he had exercised; but he was weak, intoxicated with power, and determined to retain it. Although twice required, he refused to surrender the fort; but sent two persons to confer with the governor, who, declaring them rebels, arrested and confined them. Alarmed by this measure, Leisler attempted to escape, but was apprehended, with many of his adherents, and brought to trial.

36. In vain did they plead their zeal for king William. In vain did Leisler insist that the letter from England authorized him to administer the government. They had lately resisted a governor with a regular commission, and this governor, and a subservient court, were resolved upon their conviction. Leisler and Milborne were condemned to death for high treason.

37. Soon after their trial, the affairs of the province required Sloughter's presence at Albany. The faction opposed to them, entreated him, before his departure, to sign the warrant for their execution; but he, unwilling to sacrifice two men, who, though they had sometimes erred, had served his master with zeal, refused. Unable

to effect their purpose by persuasion, they resorted to a detestable expedient. A sumptuous feast was prepared, to which the governor was invited. When he had drunk to intoxication, they presented him the warrant, which he signed, and when he had recovered his senses, the prisoners were no more.

38. On application to the king, their estates, which had been confiscated, were restored to their heirs. Their bodies were afterwards taken up and interred, with great pomp, in the old Dutch church; and their descendants are considered honored, rather than disgraced, by the conduct and fall of their ancestors.

39. In July, 1691, Sloughter, having returned from Albany, ended, by a sudden death, a short, weak, and turbulent administration. About the same time, major Peter Schuyler, at the head of three hundred Mohawks, made a sudden and bold attack upon the French settlements, at the north end of Lake Champlain. An army of eight hundred men was despatched from Montreal to oppose him. With these he had several irregular, but successful conflicts; in which he killed a number of the enemy, greater than that of his whole party.

40. In 1692, colonel Fletcher arrived as successor to Sloughter. He was a good soldier, was active, avaricious, and passionate. From the talents and information of major Schuyler, he derived great assistance, and was governed by his advice, particularly in transactions relative to the Indians.

41. As a great portion of the inhabitants were Dutch, all the governors, to produce uniformity in religion and language, had encouraged English preachers and schoolmasters to settle in the colony. No one pursued this object with more zeal than Fletcher, who was devoted to the church of England. At two successive sessions, he recommended the subject to the attention of the assembly; but the members, being generally attached to the church of Holland, disregarded his recommendations. For this neglect, he gave them a severe reprimand.

42. The subject being laid before them, at a subsequent session, they passed a bill providing for the settlement, in certain parishes, of ministers of the gospel, to be chosen by the people. The council added an amendment, giving to the governor the power of approval or rejection. The house refused to concur in the amendment, at which Fletcher was so much enraged, that he commanded them

instantly to attend him, and, addressing them in an angry speech, prorogued them to the next year.

43. In 1697, a peace, which gave security and repose to the colonies, was concluded between Great Britain and France. The next year, the earl of Bellamont was appointed governor. He was particularly instructed to clear the American seas of the pirates who infested them, and who, it was suspected, had even received encouragement from Fletcher.

44. The government declining to furnish the necessary naval force, the earl engaged, with others, in a private undertaking against them. The associates, procuring a vessel of war, gave the command of it to a captain Kid, and sent him to cruise against the pirates. He had been but a short time at sea, when, disregarding his instructions, he made a new contract with his crew, and, on the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, became himself a daring, atrocious, and successful pirate.

45. Three years afterwards, he returned, burned his ship, and, with a strange infatuation, appeared publicly at Boston. He was apprehended and sent to England, where he was tried and executed. The earl and his partners, some of whom resided in England, were accused of sharing in his plunder, but in all his examinations he declared them innocent.

46. Notwithstanding the death of Leisler, the people were still divided into Leislerians and anti-Leislerians. Fletcher had been the instrument of the latter; Lord Bellamont espoused the cause of the former. He, however, persecuted no one; but exercised authority with justice and moderation. He died in 1701.

47. The next year, lord Cornbury was appointed governor. He presented a striking proof of the folly of hereditary distinctions. He was the son of the celebrated earl of Clarendon; but possessed not one of the virtues of his ancestor. Mean, profligate, and unprincipled, he was a burden to his friends at home, and was sent to America to be beyond the reach of his creditors.

48. He declared himself an anti-Leislerian, and the first assembly that he summoned was composed principally of men of that party. They presented him two thousand pounds to defray the expenses of his voyage. They raised several sums of money for public purposes, but the expenditure being intrusted to him as governor, he appropriated most of it to his own use.

49. His acts of injustice and oppression; his prodigality; his indecent and vulgar manners, rendered him universally odious. In 1708, the assemblies of New-York and of New-Jersey, of which colony he was also governor, complained to the queen of his misconduct. She removed him from office; he was soon after arrested by his creditors, and remained in custody until the death of his illustrious father, when he returned to England and took his seat in the house of lords.

50. A proceeding of the house of representatives, near the close of his administration, ought not to be passed over without notice. Wearied by their sufferings, they appointed a committee of grievances, who reported a series of resolutions having reference to recent transactions, which resolutions were adopted by the house. One of them, in explicit language, asserted the principle, "that the imposing and levying of any moneys upon her majesty's subjects of this colony, under any pretence or colour whatsoever, without consent in general assembly, is a grievance and a violation of the people's property." It is not uninstructive to observe how early, in some of the colonies, were sown the seeds of the American revolution.

51. In 1710, general Hunter, who had been appointed governor, arrived in the province. He brought with him near three thousand Germans, some of whom settled in New-York, and some in Pennsylvania. The latter transmitted to their native land such favourable accounts of the country which they had chosen for their residence, that many others followed and settled in that colony. The numerous descendants of these Germans are honest, industrious, and useful citizens.

52. The prodigality of lord Cornbury, had taught the assembly an important lesson. Before his removal, they had obtained from the queen permission, in cases of special appropriations to appoint their own treasurer. They now passed a bill confiding to this officer the disbursement of certain sums appropriated for ordinary purposes. The council proposed an amendment. The house denied the right of that body to amend a money bill. Both continuing obstinate, the governor prorogued them, and at their next session dissolved them.

53. At this time, war existed between England and France. In 1709, expensive preparations were made for an attack upon Canada, but the promised assistance not arriving from England, the enterprise was abandoned. In

1711, the project was resumed. A fleet sailed up the St. Lawrence, to attack Quebec; and an army of four thousand men, raised by New-York, New-Jersey, and Connecticut, marched to invade Canada, by the route of Lake Champlain. The fleet, shattered by a storm, was compelled to return. The army, informed of the disasters of the fleet, returned also, having accomplished nothing.

54. The people, approving the conduct of their representatives in relation to the revenue, had re-elected nearly all of them, and they were now in session. To defray the expenses of the late expedition, they passed several bills which were amended in the council. Between these two bodies, another contest ensued. The representatives, deriving their authority from the people, considered themselves bound to watch over the expenditure of their money. The council, deriving their authority from the same source as the governor, were desirous of increasing his influence by giving him the management of the revenue. During this, and a subsequent session, both continued inflexible. The governor, provoked at the obstinacy of the representatives, dissolved the assembly.

55. At the ensuing election, which was warmly contested, most of the members chosen, were opposed to the governor. This assembly was dissolved by the death of the queen. The next was dissolved by the governor, soon after it first met, a majority of the representatives being known to be unfriendly to his views. The people became weary of contending. Most of the members chosen at the succeeding election, were his friends and partisans, and, for several years, the utmost harmony existed between the different branches of the government.

56. Governor Hunter quitted the province in 1719, and his authority devolved on Peter Schuyler, the oldest member of the council. The next year, William Burnet, son of the celebrated bishop of that name, was appointed governor. Turning his attention towards the wilderness, he perceived that the French, in order to connect their settlements in Canada and Louisiana, to secure to themselves the Indian trade, and to confine the English to the sea coast, were busily employed in erecting a chain of forts from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi.

57. He endeavored to defeat their design, by building a trading house, and afterwards a fort, at Oswego, on Lake Ontario. But the French had the command of more abundant resources, and applied them to the accomplish-

ment of their object, with great activity and zeal. They launched two vessels upon that lake; and, going farther into the wilderness, erected a fort at Niagra, commanding the entrance into it; they had previously erected fort Frontenac, commanding the outlet.

58. The assembly, elected in 1716, had been so obsequious to the governor, that he continued it in existence until the clamors of the people induced him, in 1727, to dissolve it. That which next met, was composed entirely of his opponents. The court of chancery, in which he presided, had become exceedingly unpopular. It had been instituted by an ordinance of the governor and council, without the concurrence of the assembly; the mode of proceeding was novel; and some of the decisions had given great offence to powerful individuals. The house passed resolutions declaring it "a manifest oppression and grievance," and intimating that its decrees were void. The governor instantly called the assembly before him, and dissolved it.

59. Being soon after appointed governor of Massachusetts, he was succeeded by colonel Montgomery, upon whose death, in 1731, the supreme authority devolved upon Rip Van Dam, the senior member of the council. Under his short and inefficient administration, the French were permitted to erect a fort at Crown Point, within the acknowledged boundaries of New-York, from which parties of savages were often secretly despatched to destroy the English settlements.

60. Van Dam was superseded by William Cosby, who arrived in August, 1732. Having been the advocate, in parliament, of the American colonies, he was at first popular, but soon lost the affection and confidence of the people. By his instigation, one Zenger, the printer of a newspaper, was prosecuted for publishing an article declared to be derogatory to the dignity of his majesty's government. He was zealously defended by able counsel, and an independent jury gave a verdict of acquital. The people applauded their conduct, and the magistrates of the city of New-York presented to Andrew Hamilton, one of his defenders, the freedom of the city, in a gold box, and their thanks for "his learned and generous defence of the rights of mankind, and the liberty of the press."

61. Governor Cosby died in 1736, and was succeeded by George Clark, at that time senior counsellor, but soon after appointed lieutenant-governor. Again was revived

the contest which had ended, twenty years before, in the victory gained by governor Hunter, over the house of representatives. The colony being in debt, the house voted to raise the sum of six thousand pounds; but, in order to prevent its misapplication, declared, that it should be applied to the payment of certain specified debts. Offended by this vote, Clark resorted to the expedient which had usually been adopted to punish or intimidate; he immediately dissolved the assembly.

62. At the next election, great exertions were made by the opposing parties. The popular party was triumphant. At their second session, the house voted an address to the lieutenant-governor, which is worthy of particular notice. In bold and explicit language, they state some of the vital principles of free government, refer to recent misapplications of money, and proceed:

63. "We therefore beg leave to be plain with your honor, and hope you will not take it amiss when we tell you, that you are not to expect that we will either raise sums unfit to be raised, or put what we shall raise, into the power of a governor to misapply, if we can prevent it; nor shall we make up any other deficiencies than what we conceive are fit and just to be paid; nor continue what support or revenue we shall raise, for any longer time than one year; nor do we think it convenient to do even that, until such laws are passed as we conceive necessary for the safety of the inhabitants of this colony, who have reposed a trust in us for that only purpose, and which we are sure you will think it reasonable we should act agreeably to; and by the grace of God we shall endeavor not to deceive them."

64. With a body of men, so resolute in asserting their rights, the lieutenant-governor wisely forebore to contend. He thanked them for their address, and promised his cordial co-operation in all measures calculated to promote the prosperity of the colony. He gave his assent to a law providing for the more frequent election of representatives; which law, however, two years afterwards, was abrogated by the king.

65. But between a house of representatives and a chief magistrate, deriving their authority from different sources, harmony could not long subsist. Mr. Clark, in his speech at the opening of the next session, declared that unless the revenue was granted for as long a time as it had been granted by former assemblies, his duty to his majesty

forbade him from assenting to any act for continuing the excise, or for paying the colonial bills of credit. The house unanimously resolved, that it would not pass any bill for the grant of money, unless assurance should be given that the excise should be continued and the bills of credit redeemed.

66. The lieutenant-governor immediately ordered the members to attend him. He told them that "their proceedings were presumptuous, daring, and unprecedented; that he could not look upon them without astonishment, nor with honor suffer the house to sit any longer;" and he accordingly dissolved it. Little more than a year had elapsed, since the members were chosen; but in that time they had, by their firm and spirited conduct, in support of the rights of the people, merited the gratitude of their constituents.

67. About this time, a supposed "negro plot" occasioned great commotion and alarm in the city of New-York. The frequent occurrence of fires, most of which were evidently caused by design, first excited the jealousy and suspicion of the citizens. Terrified by danger which lurked unseen in the midst of them, they listened with eager credulity to the declaration of some abandoned females, that the negroes had combined to burn the city and make one of their number governor. Many were arrested and committed to prison. Other witnesses, not more respectable than the first, came forward; other negroes were accused, and even several white men were designated as concerned in the plot.

68. When the time of trial arrived, so strong was the prejudice against the miserable negroes, that every lawyer in the city volunteered against them. Ignorant and unassisted, nearly all who were tried were condemned. Fourteen were sentenced to be burned, eighteen to be hung, seventy-one to be transported, and all these sentences were executed. Of the whites two were convicted and suffered death.

69. All apprehension of danger having subsided, many began to doubt whether any plot had in fact been concerted. None of the witnesses were persons of credit, their stories were extravagant and often contradictory; and the project was such as none but fools or madmen would form. The two white men were respectable; one had received a liberal education, but he was a Catholic, and the prejudice against Catholics was too violent to permit the free exer-

cise of reason. Some of the accused were doubtless guilty of setting fire to the city; but the proof of the alleged plot was not sufficiently clear to justify the numerous and cruel punishments that were inflicted.

70. In April, 1740, the assembly again met. It had now risen to importance in the colony. The adherence of the representatives to their determination, not to grant the revenue for more than one year, made annual meetings of the assembly necessary. This attachment to liberty was mistaken for the desire of independence. Lieutenant-governor Clark, in a speech delivered in 1741, alludes to "a jealousy which for some years had obtained in England, that the plantations were not without thoughts of throwing off their dependence on the crown."

71. In 1743, George Clinton was sent over as governor of the colony. Like most of his predecessors he was welcomed with joy; and one of his earliest measures confirmed the favorable accounts, which had preceded him, of his talents and liberality. To show his willingness to repose confidence in the people, he assented to a bill limiting the duration of the present and all succeeding assemblies. The house manifested its gratitude by adopting the measures he recommended for the defence of the province against the French, who were then at war with England.

72. In 1745, the savages in alliance with France made frequent invasions of the English territories. The inhabitants were compelled to desert Hosick; Saratoga was destroyed; the western settlements in New-England were often attacked and plundered. Encouraged by success, the enemy became more daring, and small parties ventured within the suburbs of Albany, and there lay in wait for prisoners. It is even said that one Indian, called Tomonwilemon, often entered the city and succeeded in taking captives.

73. Distressed by these incursions, the assembly, in 1746, determined to unite with the other colonies and the mother country in an expedition against Canada. They appropriated money to purchase provisions for the army, and offered liberal bounties to recruits. But the fleet from England did not arrive at the appointed time: the other colonies were dilatory in their preparations, and before they were completed, the season for military operations had passed away.

74. Early in the next year, a treaty was concluded, and

the inhabitants were, for a short period, relieved from the burdens and distresses of war. During the interval of peace, no event of importance happened in the colony. Upon the recurrence, a few years afterwards, of hostilities, its territory was the theatre of sanguinary conflicts. But of that war, in which all the colonies acted in concert, a connected history will be hereafter given.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW-JERSEY.

THE first settlement within the limits of New-Jersey was made by the Danes, about the year 1624, at a place called Bergen, from a city of that name in Norway. Soon afterwards, several Dutch families seated themselves in the vicinity of New-York. In 1626, a company was formed in Sweden, under the patronage of king Gustavus Adolphus, for the purpose of planting a colony in America. The next year, a number of Swedes and Finns came over, purchased of the natives the land on both sides of the river Delaware, but made their first settlement on its western bank, near Christina creek.

2. About the year 1640, the English began a plantation at Elsingburgh, on its eastern bank. The Swedes, in concert with the Dutch who then possessed New-York, drove them out of the country. The former built a fort on the spot whence the English had been driven; and, gaining thus the command of the river, claimed and exercised authority over all vessels that entered it, even those of the Dutch, their late associates.

3. They continued in possession of the country, on both sides of the Delaware, until 1655, when Peter Stuyvesant, governor of the New-Netherlands, having obtained assistance from Holland, conquered all their posts and transported most of the Swedes to Europe. The Dutch were now in possession of the territory comprising, at this time, the states of New-Jersey, New-York, and Delaware.

4. Soon, however, this territory changed masters. King Charles II, having granted it to the duke of York, sent an armament, in 1664, to wrest it from the Dutch. After reducing New-York, the squadron proceeded to the settlements on the Delaware, which immediately submitted.

In the same year, the duke conveyed that portion of his grant, lying between Hudson and Delaware rivers, to lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. This tract was called New-Jersey, in compliment to Sir George, who had been governor of the island of Jersey, and had held it for king Charles in his contest with the parliament.

5. The two proprietors formed a constitution for the colony, securing equal privileges and liberty of conscience to all, and appointed Philip Carteret governor. He came over in 1665, fixed the seat of government at Elizabethtown, purchased land of the Indians, and sent agents into New-England to invite settlers from that quarter. The terms offered were so favorable that many accepted the invitation.

6. A few years afterwards, the repose of the colony began to be disturbed by domestic disputes. Some of the inhabitants, having purchased their lands of the Indians previous to the conveyance from the duke, refused to pay rent to the proprietors. Others were discontented from different causes. In 1672, an insurrection took place, the people assumed the government, and chose James Carteret, the son of Philip, their governor. The father returned to England, and obtained from the proprietors such favorable concessions and promises as quieted the people, and induced them again to submit to his authority.

7. Lord Berkeley disposed of his property, rights, and privileges in the territory, to Edward Billinge; and he, being involved in debt, consented that they should be sold for the benefit of his creditors. William Penn, Gawen Lowrie, and Nicholas Lucas, were appointed trustees for that purpose. In 1676, the trustees and Sir George Carteret made partition of the territory, they taking the western and he the eastern portion.

8. West-Jersey was then divided into one hundred shares, which were separately sold. Some of the purchasers emigrated to the country, and all made great exertions to promote its population. Possessing the powers of government, as well as the right of soil, they formed a constitution, in which, for the encouragement of emigrants, they secured to them ample privileges.

9. But previous to the transfer from Berkeley to Billinge, the Dutch, being at war with England, reconquered the country, and retained it, until 1674, when it was restored by treaty. A new patent was then granted to the duke, including the same territory as the former. In 1678, Sir

Edmund Andross, who had been appointed his sole governor in America, claimed jurisdiction over the Jerseys, insisting that the conquest by the Dutch divested the proprietors of all their rights.

10. He forcibly seized, transported to New-York, and there imprisoned those magistrates who refused to acknowledge his authority. He imposed a duty upon all goods imported, and upon the property of all who came to settle in the country. Of this injustice the inhabitants loudly complained to the duke; and at length their repeated remonstrances constrained him to refer the matter to commissioners.

11. Before them the proprietors appeared. In strong language they asserted, and by strong arguments supported, their claim to the privileges of freemen. They represented, that the king had granted to the duke the right of government as well as the right of soil; That the duke had transferred the same rights to Berkeley and Carteret, and they to the present proprietors.

12. "That only," they added, "could have induced us to purchase lands and emigrate. And the reason is plain; to all prudent men, the government of any place is more inviting than the soil; for what is good land without good laws? What but an assurance that we should enjoy civil and religious privileges, could have tempted us to leave a cultivated country, and resort to a gloomy wilderness? What have we gained, if, after adventuring in this wilderness many thousands of pounds, we are yet to be taxed at the mere will and pleasure of another? What is it but to say, that people, free by law under their prince at home, are at his mercy in his plantations abroad?

13. "We humbly say, that we have lost none of our liberty by leaving our country; that the duty imposed upon us is without precedent or parallel; that, had we foreseen it, we should have preferred any other plantation in America. Besides, there is no limit to this power; since we are, by this precedent, taxed without any law, and thereby excluded from our English right of assenting to taxes; what security have we of any thing we possess? We can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will, not only for the soil, but for our personal estates. Such conduct has destroyed governments, but never raised one to any true greatness."

14. The commissioners adjudged the duties illegal and oppressive, and they were not afterwards demanded.

Emigrants continued to arrive and the country to prosper. In 1681, the governor of West-Jersey summoned a general assembly, by which several fundamental laws were enacted, establishing the rights of the people, and defining the powers of rulers.

15. In 1682, the territory of East-Jersey passed from Carteret to William Penn, and twenty-three associates, mostly of the Quaker persuasion. They appointed Robert Barclay, author of the "Apology for the Quakers," governor over it for life. The multitude of proprietors, and the frequent transfers and subdivisions of shares, introduced such confusion in titles to land, and such uncertainty as to the rights of government, that, for twenty years afterwards, both Jerseys were in a state of continued disturbance and disorder. In 1702, the proprietors, weary of contending with each other, and with the people, surrendered the right of government to the crown. Queen Anne reunited the two divisions, and appointed lord Cornbury governor over the provinces of New-Jersey and New-York.

16. These provinces continued, for several years, to be ruled by the same governor, but each chose a separate assembly. In 1738, the inhabitants, by petition to the king, desired that they might, in future, have a separate governor. Their request was granted, Lewis Morris being the first that was appointed.

17. In the same year, a college was founded at Princeton and called Nassau Hall. New-Jersey then contained above forty thousand inhabitants. Being remote from Canada, the source of most of the Indian wars which afflicted the northern colonies, it enjoyed a complete exemption from that terrible calamity, and until the commencement of the revolution, furnished no materials for history.

CHAPTER VIII.

DELAWARE.

THIS colony was first settled by a company of Swedes and Finns, under the patronage of king Gustavus Adolphus. They came over in 1627, and landing at cape Henlopen, were so charmed with its appearance, that they gave it the name of Paradise Point. The country they called

New-Sweden, and the river Delaware, New-Swedeland Stream. They purchased of the Indians the lands on both sides of that river, from the sea to the falls, and seated themselves at the mouth of Christina creek, near Wilmington.

2. Being frequently molested by the Dutch, who claimed a right to the country, they, for their protection, built forts at Christina, Lewistown, and Tinicum. The last was their seat of government, and there John Printz, their governor, erected an elegant mansion which he named Printz Hall.

3. In 1651, the Dutch built a fort at New-Castle. Printz, considering this place to be within the Swedish territories, formally protested against the proceeding. Risingh, his successor, made a visit, under the guise of friendship, to the commander of the fort, and, being accompanied by thirty men, treacherously took possession of it, while enjoying his hospitality.

4. Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of New-York, was not of a temper to permit an injury thus committed, to pass unavenged. Accompanied by an armament, a part of which was furnished for the occasion by the city of Amsterdam, in Holland, he, in 1655, returned the visit of the Swedes. He first reduced the fort at New-Castle; then that at Christina creek, where Risingh commanded; and afterwards the others. Some of the Swedes, on taking the oath of allegiance to Holland, were permitted to remain; the rest were sent to Europe.

5. The settlements on the Delaware continued under the control of the Dutch, until 1664, when the New-Netherlands were conquered by the English. They were then considered as a part of New-York. In 1682, William Penn purchased of the duke of York, the town of New-Castle, and the country twelve miles around it; and by a subsequent purchase, obtained the land lying upon the Delaware, and between New-Castle and cape Henlopen. These tracts, which constitute the present state of Delaware, were called the "Territories," and were, for twenty years, governed as a part of Pennsylvania.

6. They were divided into three counties, New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex, each of which sent six delegates to the general assembly. In 1703, these delegates, dissatisfied with the last charter which Penn had prepared, and a majority of the assembly had adopted, seceded, and, liberty being given, formed a separate and distinct assembly. The

two portions of the province were never afterwards united, but the proprietor continued to possess the same jurisdiction, and the same person uniformly acted as governor over both.

7. Sheltered by the surrounding provinces, Delaware enjoyed an entire exemption from wars, except those in which, as a part of the British empire, she was obliged to participate. In the war with France, which terminated in 1763, she was second to none in active zeal to assist the parent state. In the revolutionary war, the Delaware regiment was considered the most efficient in the continental army.

CHAPTER IX.

PENNSYLVANIA.

William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, was the son of Sir William Penn, an admiral in the British navy. In his youth, he joined the quakers, then an obscure and persecuted sect. While superintending the settlement of New-Jersey, he became acquainted with an extensive tract of fertile, unoccupied land lying between the territories of the duke of York and lord Baltimore. At his solicitation, and in recompense for unrequited services which his father had rendered the nation, this tract was, in 1681, granted to him in full property, and by the king called Pennsylvania.

2. Desirous of selling his lands and founding a colony, he, in a public advertisement, described the country, and set forth the advantages which it offered to emigrants. Many persons, chiefly quakers, were induced to purchase. The fee simple of the soil was sold at the rate of twenty pounds for every thousand acres; and they who rented lands, agreed to pay one penny yearly per acre. Before the emigrants embarked, certain "conditions and concessions" were by them and the proprietor agreed upon and subscribed.

3. In the fall, three ships, carrying settlers, sailed for Pennsylvania. The pious and philanthropic proprietor sent a letter to the Indians, informing them that "the great God had been pleased to make him concerned in their part of the world, and that the king of the country where he lived, had given him a great province therein;

but that he did not desire to enjoy it without their consent; that he was a man of peace; and that the people whom he sent were of the same disposition; and if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men chosen on both sides." The position selected by these emigrants for a settlement was above the confluence of the Delaware and the Schuylkill.

4. In April, 1682, Penn published a *Frame of Government*, the chief object of which was declared to be "to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power." He published also a *Body of Laws*, which had been examined and approved by the emigrants in England; and which, says an eminent historian, "does great honor to their wisdom as statesmen, to their morals as men, and to their spirit as colonists." From the duke of York, he obtained the relinquishment of a tract of land, lying on the south side of the Delaware, a part of which was already settled, and in August, accompanied by about two thousand emigrants, set sail for America.

5. He landed first at New-Castle, which was a part of the "Territories," as the land conveyed to him by the duke was called. Upon this tract he found about three thousand Dutch, Swedes, and Finns. He proceeded to Chester, where he called an assembly on the fourth of December. This assembly annexed the Territories to the province, adopted the Frame of Government, and enacted in form the Body of Laws. Penn also made a treaty with the Indians, from whom he purchased as much land as the circumstances of the colony required. He selected the site, and marked out the plan, of an extensive city, to which he gave the name of Philadelphia, or the city of love. Before the end of the year, it contained eighty houses and cottages.

6. The settlement of none of the colonies commenced under such favourable auspices as that of Pennsylvania. The experience of half a century had disclosed the evils to be avoided, and pointed out the course to be pursued. The Indians, having been already taught to fear the power of the whites, were the more easily conciliated by their kindness. The soil being fertile, the climate temperate, and the game abundant, the first emigrants escaped most of the calamities which afflicted the more northern and southern provinces. The increase of population exceeded, of course, all former example.

7. In the new city, a second assembly was held in March, 1683. At the request of the freemen and delegates, Penn granted them a second charter, which diminished the number of the council and assembly, and was, in other respects, different from the first. Some of the regulations, at that time adopted, bear the impress of the proprietor's singular genius, and benevolent disposition.

8. It was ordained "that, to prevent lawsuits, three arbitrators, to be called peace-makers, should be chosen by the county courts, to hear and determine small differences between man and man: That children should be taught some useful trade, to the end that none might be idle, that the poor might work to live, and the rich if they should become poor: That factors, wronging their employers, should make satisfaction and one third over: That every thing, which excites the people to rudeness, cruelty, and irreligion, should be discouraged and severely punished: That no one, acknowledging one God and living peaceably in society, should be molested for his opinions or his practice, or compelled to frequent or maintain any ministry whatever."

9. These judicious regulations attracted numerous emigrants; and to their salutary influence must be attributed the qualities of diligence, order, and economy for which the Pennsylvanians are so justly celebrated. Within four years from the date of the grant to Penn, the province contained twenty-settlements, and Philadelphia two thousand inhabitants.

10. In 1684, the proprietor returned to England. He left his province in profound tranquillity, under the administration of five commissioners chosen from the council. The unfortunate James II. soon after ascended the throne. "As he has," said Penn, "been my friend, and my father's friend, I feel bound in justice to be a friend to him." He adhered to him while seated on the throne, and for two years after he was expelled from his kingdom, the government of the province was administered in his name.

11. By this display of attachment to the exiled monarch, he incurred the displeasure of king William. On vague suspicion, and unfounded charges, he was four times imprisoned. The government of his colony was taken from him, and given to colonel Fletcher, the governor of New-York. But by the severest scrutiny, it was rendered apparent, that he had, in all his conduct, been actuated as

much by the love of his country as by personal gratitude. He regained the good opinion of king William; and, being permitted to resume and exercise his rights, appointed William Markham to be his deputy governor.

12. In 1699, he again visited Pennsylvania, and found the people discontented. They complained that his powers and their rights were not defined with sufficient precision, and demanded a new charter. In 1701, he prepared and presented one to the assembly, which was accepted. It gave to the assembly the right of originating bills, which, by the previous charters, was the right of the governor alone, and of amending or rejecting those which might be laid before them. To the governor it gave the right of rejecting bills passed by the assembly, of appointing his own council, and of exercising the whole executive power. The Territories, now the state of Delaware, refusing to accept the new charter, separated from Pennsylvania, and were allowed a distinct assembly. The same governor, however, presided over both.

13. Immediately after his third charter was accepted, Penn returned to England, and the executive authority was afterwards administered by deputy governors appointed by the proprietor. The people incessantly murmured and complained; but the uninterrupted and unparalleled prosperity of the colony demonstrates, that but slight causes of complaint existed. That which produced the greatest and most constant irritation was the refusal, by the deputy governors, to assent to any law imposing taxes on the lands of the proprietors, although the sum raised was to be expended for the benefit of the whole province. This unwise, and indeed unjust, claim of exemption, occasioned greater disgust than injury, and embittered all the enjoyments of the inhabitants.

14. But these dissensions did not, in the least, retard the prosperity of the colony. Nor did any other cause, having that tendency, exist. The upright conduct of Penn, in his intercourse with the Indians, was imitated by those who came after him; and, for seventy years, uninterrupted harmony existed between them and the whites. In the early part of the revolutionary war, the people adopted a new constitution, by which the proprietor was excluded from all share in the government. He was offered, and finally accepted, the sum of 570,000 dollars, in discharge of all quit-rents due from the inhabitants.

CHAPTER X.

MARYLAND.

DURING the reign of James I, the laws against Roman Catholics were severe and the popular hatred was inveterate. Lord Baltimore, a distinguished member of that sect, resolved, in consequence, to remove from England to Virginia, believing that he might there enjoy his religious opinions, without violating the laws or incurring reproach. But the people among whom he came to reside, were almost as intolerant as those he had left, and he soon found it necessary to seek some other asylum.

2. Having ascertained that the territory on both sides of Chesapeake bay, was inhabited only by the natives, he conceived the project of planting there a colony for himself, and for all who might wish to retire from religious persecution. He explored the country, returned to England, obtained the assent of king Charles I to a grant of territory, but died before the requisite formalities were completed.

3. Cecil, his eldest son, and heir to his estate and title, obtained for himself the grant intended for his father. To the new colony the name of Maryland was given, in honor of Henrietta Maria, the royal consort of Charles. The land conveyed being within the boundaries of Virginia, the planters in that province remonstrated against the grant. The king refusing to rescind it, lord Baltimore made preparations to commence a settlement. He appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, governor; who, near the close of the year 1633, sailed for America, accompanied by about two hundred emigrants, mostly Roman Catholics.

4. They arrived in February, 1634, at the mouth of the river Potomac. At a conference with the Indians who dwelt on the shore, they purchased Yoamaco, a considerable village, the site of which St. Mary's now occupies. By this measure, wise as well as just, the rightful proprietors of the soil were satisfied, convenient habitations and some cultivated land were obtained, and the first settlers were of course exempted from the miseries of famine, and from the diseases which it produces.

5. Other circumstances favored the rapid population of the colony. The charter granted more ample privileges than had ever been conceded to a subject; the country was inviting; the natives were friendly; from the south

churchmen drove puritans, from the north puritans drove churchmen, into her borders, where all were freely received, protected, and cherished.

6. The charter granted to the inhabitants the privilege of passing laws either by themselves or representatives, without reserving to the crown, as had been done in all previous charters, the right to reject the laws so passed. At first, when the freemen were few in number, each attended in person, or authorized some other freeman, who chose to attend, to vote and act in his stead. The increase of population soon rendered it necessary to adopt a different mode of legislation. In 1639, an act was passed, constituting a "house of assembly," to be composed of such as should be chosen by the people, of such as should be summoned or appointed by the proprietor, and of the governor and secretary. These were to sit together, and the laws which they should enact were to possess the same validity, as though the proprietors and all the people had concurred in enacting them.

7. In 1650, a second alteration was made. The legislative body was divided into two branches, the delegates chosen by the people constituting the lower house, and the persons summoned by the proprietors, the upper house. It ought to be stated, for the honor of lord Baltimore and his associates, that, while the catholics retained the ascendency in the province, the assembly passed no law abridging the liberty of conscience.

8. But this colony, as well as all the others, in the early period of their existence, was afflicted with intestine troubles. They were principally caused by one William Clayborne. While a member of the Virginia council he had obtained a license from the king, to traffic in those parts of America where no other person enjoyed the exclusive right of trade. Under this license, he had made a small settlement on the island of Kent, and, when the grant was made to lord Baltimore, refused to submit to his authority. He persuaded the natives that the "new comers" were Spaniards, and enemies to the Virginians. An Indian war was the consequence, which continued several years, and was productive of considerable distress.

9. Clayborne was indicted and convicted of murder, piracy, and sedition; and fleeing from justice, his estate was confiscated. He applied to the king for redress, but after a full hearing, was dismissed without obtaining any order in his favor. When the civil war, between the king

and parliament, began, he embraced the cause of the latter, returned to Maryland, and, by his intrigues fomented, in 1645, a rebellion against its rulers, who were attached to the royal cause. Calvert, the governor, was compelled to fly to Virginia, and the insurgents seized the reins of government. The next year, however, the revolt was suppressed and tranquillity restored.

10. But after the parliament had triumphed over the king, they appointed commissioners for "reducing and governing the colonies within the bay of Chesapeake." Among these was Clayborne, the evil genius of Maryland. The proprietor, consenting to acknowledge the authority of parliament, was permitted to retain his station, but was unable to preserve tranquillity. The distractions of England, finding their way into the colony, occasioned a civil war, which ended in the discomfiture of the governor and Roman Catholics.

11. The next assembly, which was entirely under the influence of the victorious party, ordained that persons professing the Catholic religion should not be considered within the protection of the laws. Thus were they ungratefully persecuted by men whom they had taken to their bosom, and in a colony which they had founded. Laws unfavorable to the Quakers were also enacted, and here, as in England, the upper house was voted to be useless. At the restoration, in 1660, Philip Calvert was appointed governor, and the ancient order of things restored. The colony then contained about twelve thousand inhabitants.

12. In 1676, died Cecil, lord Baltimore, the father of the province. For more than forty years, he had directed its affairs as proprietor, and displayed, in all his conduct, a benevolent heart and enlightened understanding. Although he lived in an age of bigotry, he was liberal in his opinions; and for all his exertions to contribute to the happiness of his fellow beings, he desired no reward but their gratitude. This reward he received. The records of the Maryland assembly contain frequent memorials of the respect and affection of the people. He was succeeded, as proprietor, by his eldest son, Charles, who had, for several years, been governor of the colony, and displayed the same amiable qualities which had rendered his father respected and beloved.

13. In the year 1689, the epoch of the revolution in England, the repose of Maryland was again disturbed. A

rumor was artfully circulated, that the Catholics had leagued with the Indians to destroy all the Protestants in the province. An armed association was immediately formed, for the defence of the Protestant religion, and for asserting the rights of king William and queen Mary. The magistrates attempted to oppose by force this association; but, meeting with few supporters, were compelled to abdicate the government.

14. King William directed those who had assumed the supreme authority to exercise it in his name; and for twenty-seven years the crown retained the entire control of the province. In 1716, the proprietor was restored to his rights; and he and his descendants continued to enjoy them until the commencement of the revolution. The people then assumed the government, adopted a constitution, and refused to admit the claims of lord Baltimore to jurisdiction or property.

CHAPTER XI.

NORTH-CAROLINA.

In 1630, Charles I granted to Sir Robert Heath all the territory between the 30th and 36th degrees of north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic ocean to the South sea, by the name of Carolina. Under this grant, no settlement was made. Between 1640 and 1650, persons suffering from religious intolerance in Virginia, fled beyond her limits, and, without license from any source, occupied that portion of North-Carolina, north of Albemarle sound. They found the winters mild and the soil fertile. As their cattle and swine procured their own support in the woods and multiplied fast, they were enabled, with little labor, to live in the enjoyment of abundance. Their number was annually augmented; they acknowledged no superior upon earth, and obeyed no laws but those of God and nature.

2. In 1661, another settlement was made, near the mouth of Clarendon river, by adventurers from Massachusetts. The land being sterile and the Indians hostile, they, in 1663, abandoned it. Immediately afterwards, their place was supplied by emigrants from Barbadoes, who invested Sir John Yeomans with the authority of governor.

3. Sir Robert Heath having neglected to comply with

the conditions of his patent, the king, in 1663, granted the same territory to lord Clarendon and seven others, and invested them with ample powers of government over those who should inhabit it. To encourage emigration, they gave public assurances, that all who might remove to their territory, should enjoy unrestricted religious liberty, and be governed by a free assembly. The settlers on Albemarle sound were, on certain conditions, allowed to retain their lands. A government over them was organized, at the head of which a Mr. Drummond was placed. With the regulations imposed, they were dissatisfied, and revolted; but their grievances were redressed, and, in 1668, they returned to their duty.

4. At the request of the proprietors, the celebrated John Locke, whose political writings were then much read and admired, prepared for the colony a constitution of government. It provided that a chief officer, to be called the palatine and to hold his office during life, should be elected from among the proprietors; that a hereditary nobility, to be called landgraves and caziques, should be created; and that, once in two years, representatives should be chosen by the freeholders. All these, with the proprietors or their deputies, were to meet in one assembly, which was to be called the parliament, and over which the palatine was to preside. The parliament could deliberate and decide only upon such propositions as should be laid before it by a grand council composed of the palatine, nobility, and deputies of the proprietors.

5. This constitution, however wise it might seem to English politicians, was not adapted to the sentiments and habits of the people for whom it was prepared. Its aristocratic features displeased them. The measures adopted to introduce and enforce it, produced, in connection with other causes, an insurrection, in the progress of which the palatine, and the deputies were seized and imprisoned. Application was made to Virginia for assistance in restoring order; but the fear of punishment induced the insurgents to submit, before an armed force could be arrayed against them.

6. In 1670, William Sayle, under the direction of the proprietors, made a settlement at Port Royal, within the limits of South-Carolina. The next year, dissatisfied with this station, he removed his colony northward, to a neck of land between Ashley and Cooper rivers, where he laid out a town, which, in honour of the king then reigning,

he called Charleston. Dying soon after, Sir John Yeomans, who had, for several years, been governor at Clarendon, was appointed to succeed him. This new settlement attracted at first many inhabitants from that at Clarendon, and at length entirely exhausted it. Being remote from Albemarle, the proprietors established a separate government over it, and hence arose the distinctive appellations of North and South-Carolina.

7. The prosperity of the northern colony was retarded by domestic dissensions. To allay them, Seth Sothel, one of the proprietors, was appointed chief magistrate. His conduct, far from restoring quiet and contentment, increased the disorders which had before prevailed. He is represented as the most corrupt and rapacious of colonial governors. He plundered the innocent and received bribes from felons. For six years, the inhabitants endured his injustice and oppression. They then seized him, with a view of sending him to England for trial. At his request, he was detained and tried by the assembly, who banished him from the colony.

8. His successor was Philip Ludwell, of Virginia, and to him succeeded John Archdale, who was a quaker and one of the proprietors. Both were popular governors; under their administration, the colony prospered and the people were happy. In 1693, at the request of the Carolinians, the constitution of Locke was abrogated by the proprietors, and each colony was afterwards ruled by a governor, council, and house of representatives.

9. In 1707, a company of French protestants arrived and seated themselves on the river Trent, a branch of the Neuse, in 1710, a large number of Palatines, fleeing from religious persecution in Germany, sought refuge in the same part of the province. To each of these, the proprietors granted one hundred acres of land. They lived happy, for a few years, in the enjoyment of liberty of conscience, and in the prospect of competence and ease.

10. But suddenly a terrible calamity fell upon them. The Tuscarora and Coree Indians, smarting under recent injuries, and dreading total extinction from the encroachment of these strangers, plotted, with characteristic secrecy, their entire destruction. Sending their families to one of their fortified towns, twelve hundred bowmen sallied forth, and, in the same night, attacked, in separate parties, the nearest settlements of the Palatines. Men, women, and children were indiscriminately butchered.

The savages, with the swiftness and ferocity of wolves, ran from village to village. Before them, was the repose of innocence; behind, the sleep of death. A few, escaping, alarmed the settlements more remote, and hastened to South-Carolina for assistance.

11. Governor Craven immediately despatched, to the aid of the sister colony, nearly a thousand men, under the command of colonel Barnwell. After a fatiguing march through a hideous wilderness, they met the enemy, attacked, defeated, and pursued them to their fortified town, which was immediately besieged. In a few days, peace, at their solicitation, was concluded, and colonel Barnwell returned to South-Carolina.

12. The peace was short, and upon the recommencement of hostilities, assistance was again solicited from the southern colony. Colonel James Moore, an active young officer, was immediately despatched, with forty white men and eight hundred friendly Indians. He found the enemy in a fort near Cotechny river. After a siege, which continued more than a week, the fort was taken and eight hundred Indians made prisoners. The Tuscaroras, disheartened by this defeat, migrated, in 1713, to the north, and joined the celebrated confederacy, denominated the Five Nations. The others sued for peace, and afterwards continued friendly.

13. Until 1729, the two Carolinas, though distinct for many purposes, remained under the superintendence and control of the same proprietors. Neither had been prosperous; and the interests of the governors and governed being apparently adverse to each other, the latter became discontented and refractory. They complained to the king, who directed inquiry to be made in his courts. The charter which he had granted was declared forfeited, and over each colony, royal governments, entirely unconnected with each other, were established.

14. Soon after this event, the soil in the interior of North-Carolina was found to be superior in fertility to that on the sea-coast. The settlements, consequently, advanced rapidly into the wilderness. From the northern colonies, particularly Pennsylvania, multitudes were allured to this region by the mildness of the climate, and by the facility of obtaining in abundance all the neccessaries of life. At peace with the Indians, and fortunate in her governors, the colony continued to prosper until the commencement of the troubles which preceeded the revolution.

CHAPTER XII.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

This colony, and that of North-Carolina, were, as has already been stated, included in the same charter. In 1670, governor Sayle made, at Port Royal, the first permanent settlement within its limits. The next year, he founded Old Charleston, on the banks of the river Ashley. In 1684, all the freemen, meeting at this place, elected representatives to sit in the colonial parliament, according to the provisions of the constitution prepared by Mr. Locke.

2. Several circumstances contributed to promote the settlement of this colony. The conquest of New-York induced many of the Dutch to resort to it. From England, puritans came to avoid the profanity and licentiousness which disgraced the court of Charles II; and cavaliers, to retrieve their fortunes, exhausted by the civil wars. The arbitrary measures of Louis XIV, drove many French protestants into exile, some of whom crossed the Atlantic and settled in Carolina. Many of these exiles were rich; all were industrious, and by their exemplary demeanor gained the good will of the proprietors.

3. The situation of Charleston being found inconvenient, the inhabitants, in 1680, removed to Oyster Point, where a new city was laid out, to which the name of the other was given. In the same year, commenced a war with the Westoes, a powerful tribe of Indians, which threatened great injury to the colony. Peace, however, was soon restored. In 1690, Seth Sothel, one of the proprietors, having, for corrupt conduct, been driven from North-Carolina, appeared suddenly at Charleston, and, aided by a powerful faction, assumed the reins of government. Two years afterwards he was removed from office.

4. The proprietors, having observed the good conduct of the French protestants, directed the governor to permit them to elect representatives, a privilege which they had never yet exercised. The English Episcopalians, unwilling that any of their heriditary enemies, who did not belong to their church, should be associated with themselves in the enjoyment of the rights of freemen, were exasperated, and opposed the concession with great clamour and zeal. They even went farther. Warmed by opposition, they proposed to enforce, with respect to them, the laws

of England against foreigners, insisting that they could not legally possess real estate in the colony. They also declared that their marriages, being solemnized by French ministers, were void, and that the children could not inherit the property of their fathers. By the display of a spirit so illiberal and unchristian, these strangers were alarmed and discouraged. They knew not for whom they labored. But, countenanced by the governor, they remained in the colony, and, for the present, withdrew their claim to the right of suffrage.

5. Yet the ferment did not subside on the removal of the cause which produced it. Such was the general turbulence and disorder, the people complaining of their rulers and quarrelling among themselves, that, in 1695, John Archdale was sent over, as governor of both Carolinas, and invested with full power to redress all grievances. He succeeded in restoring order, but found the antipathy against the unfortunate exiles too great to be encountered, with any hope of success, until softened by time and their amiable deportment. These produced the effects which he anticipated. In a few years, the French protestants were admitted, by the general assembly, to all the rights of citizens and freemen.

6. Although the proprietors, by the regulations which were in force before the constitution of Locke was adopted, and which were restored upon its abrogation, had stipulated, that liberty of conscience should be universally enjoyed; yet one of them, Lord Granville, a bigoted churchman, and James Moore, the governor, resolved to effect, if possible, the establishment, in the colony, of the Episcopal religion. They knew that a majority of the people were dissenters, and that by art and intrigue only, could their design be accomplished. The governor, who was avaricious and venal, became the tool of Granville. He interfered in the elections, and, by bribing the voters, succeeded in procuring a majority in the assembly who would be subservient to his wishes.

7. A law was passed, establishing the episcopal religion, and excluding dissenters from a seat in the assembly. It was laid before the proprietors, without whose sanction it could not possess permanent validity. Archdale, who had returned to England, opposed it with ability and spirit. He insisted that good faith, policy, interest, even piety, concurred to dictate its rejection. But lord Granville declared himself in favor of it, and it received confirmation.

8. The dissenters saw themselves at once deprived of those privileges for which they had abandoned their native country, and encountered the dangers and hardships of the ocean and a wilderness. Some prepared to leave the colony and settle in Pennsylvania. Others proposed that a remonstrance against the law should first be presented to the house of lords, and this measure was adopted. The lords expressed, by a vote, their disapprobation of the law, and upon their solicitation, queen Anne declared it void. Soon after, lord Granville died, and the colony, controlled by more liberal councils, again enjoyed the blessings of domestic quiet.

9. In 1702, war then existing between England and Spain, governor Moore, thirsting for Spanish plunder, led an expedition against St. Augustine. It was badly planned, worse executed, and failed. Returning from defeat abroad, he met, at home, the reproaches of his people. To silence these, he marched, at the head of a body of troops, against the Apalachian Indians, who had become insolent and hostile. In this expedition he was successful, taking many prisoners, and laying their towns in ashes. By his victories over the savages, he retrieved his character; and, by selling the prisoners as slaves, obtained, what he most coveted, considerable personal emolument.

10. In 1706, the Spaniards, from Florida, invaded Carolina. The governor, Nathaniel Johnson, having received intimation of their approach, erected fortifications and made arrangements to obtain, on short warning, the assistance of the militia. When the enemy's fleet appeared before Charleston, the whole strength of the colony was summoned to defend it. A force so formidable ensured its safety. After burning a few detached buildings, the enemy retired without inflicting other injury. One of their ships, having ninety men on board, was captured by the Carolinians.

11. In 1715, after several years of profound peace, an Indian war broke out. All the tribes, from Florida to cape Fear, had been long engaged in a conspiracy to extirpate the whites. In the morning of the 15th of April, the first blow was struck. At Pocataligo, and the settlements around Port Royal, ninety persons were massacred. The inhabitants of the latter place escaped, by embarking precipitately on board a vessel, which was then in the harbor, and sailing directly to Charleston.

12. This massacre was perpetrated by the southern

Indians. The northern, at the same time, attacked the settlements near them. Many of the inhabitants were killed, and many fled to Charleston. At a plantation on Goose creek, seventy whites and forty faithful negroes, being protected by a breast work, determined to maintain their post. On the first attack, their courage failed, and they agreed to surrender. The instant they were in the power of the enemy, all were barbarously murdered.

13. Governor Craven, at the head of twelve hundred men, marched against the savages. He discovered in the wilderness several small parties, who fled before him. At Saltcatchers, he found them all assembled, and there an obstinate and bloody battle was fought. The whites were victorious, driving the enemy before them, and compelling them to leave the province. Most of them fled to Florida, where they were received, in the most friendly manner, by the Spaniards.

14. In this short war, four hundred whites were killed, property of great value destroyed, and a large debt contracted. The proprietors though earnestly solicited, refused to afford any relief, or to pay any portion of the debt. The assembly determined to remunerate the colony, by disposing of the land from which the Indians had been driven. The terms offered were so favorable, that five hundred Irishmen immediately came over, and planted themselves on the frontiers.

15. The proprietors, refusing to sanction the proceedings of the assembly, deprived these emigrants of their lands. Some, reduced to extreme poverty, perished from want, others resorted to the northern colonies. A strong barrier between the old settlements and the savages, was thus removed, and the country again exposed to their incursions. The people were exasperated, and longed for a change of masters.

16. The corrupt and oppressive conduct of Trott, the chief-justice, and Rhett, the receiver-general, increased the discontent. Of the former, the governor and council complained to the proprietors, and solicited his recall. Instead of removing him, they thanked him for his services, and removed the governor and council. With the governor next appointed, though a man generally beloved, the assembly refused to have any concern or intercourse. They drew up articles of impeachment against Trott, accusing him of corruption and gross mis-

conduct, and sent an agent to England, to maintain their accusation before the proprietors. He was nevertheless continued in office.

17. The patience of the people was exhausted, and they waited only for a favorable opportunity to throw off their oppressive yoke. In 1719, at a general review of the militia at Charleston, occasioned by a threatened invasion of the colony, from Florida, the officers and soldiers bound themselves, by a solemn compact, to support each other in resisting the tyranny of the proprietors; and the assembly, which was then in session, requested the governor, by a respectful address, to consent to administer the government in the name of the king.

18. He refused, and by proclamation, dissolved the assembly. The members immediately met as a convention, and elected colonel James Moore their governor. He was a bold man, and exceedingly well qualified for a popular leader, in a turbulent season. He accepted the appointment, and, assisted by the convention, and supported by the people, administered the affairs of the colony.

19. The conduct of the proprietors and people was brought before his majesty in council. After a full hearing, it was decided, that both colonies should be taken under the protection of the crown. Several years afterwards, seven of the proprietors sold to the king their claim to the soil and rents, and all assigned to him their right of jurisdiction. The government was subsequently administered by executive officers, appointed by the crown, and by assemblies, chosen by the people, and under their control the colony prospered.

20. In 1738, occurred an alarming insurrection of the negroes. A number of them assembled at Stono, surprised and killed two men who had charge of a ware-house, from which they took guns and ammunition. They then chose a captain, and, with drums beating and colors flying, marched southwestward. They burned every house on their way, killed all the whites they could find, and compelled other negroes to join them.

21. Governor Bull, who was returning to Charleston, from the southward, accidentally met them, hastened out of their way, and spread an alarm. The news soon reached Wiltown, where, fortunately, a large congregation were attending divine service. The men having, according to a law of the province, brought their arms to the place

of worship, marched instantly in quest of the negroes, who, by this time, had become formidable, and spread terror and desolation around them.

22. While, in an open field, they were carousing and dancing, with frantic exultation at their late success, they were suddenly attacked by the whites. Some were killed, the remainder fled. Most of the fugitives were taken and tried. They who had been compelled to join the conspirators, were pardoned; but all the leaders and first insurgents suffered death. About twenty whites were murdered.

23. From this period until the era of the revolution, no important event occurred in the colony. It was sometimes distressed by Indian wars; but the number of inhabitants and the means of subsistence and comfort, were constantly increasing. Emigrants came principally from the northern colonies; but often large bodies of protestants arrived from Europe; in one year, 1752, the number who came exceeded sixteen hundred.

CHAPTER XIII.

GEORGIA.

Upon the southern part of the territory included in the Carolina charter, no settlement was made, until several years after that charter was forfeited. In June, 1732, several benevolent gentlemen, in England, concerted a project for planting a colony in that unoccupied region. Their principal object was to relieve, by transporting thither, the indigent subjects of Great Britain; but their plan of benevolence embraced also the persecuted protestants of all nations.

2. To a project springing from motives so noble and disinterested, the people and the government extended their encouragement and patronage. A patent was granted by the king, conveying to twenty-one trustees the territory now constituting the state of Georgia, which was to be apportioned gratuitously among the settlers; and liberal donations were made by the charitable, to defray the expense of transporting them across the Atlantic, and of providing for their support the first season.

3. The concerns of the colony were managed by the

trustees, who freely devoted much of their time to the undertaking. Among other regulations, they provided, that the lands should not be sold nor devised by the owners, but should descend to the male children only; they forbade the use of rum in the colony, and strictly prohibited the importation of negroes. But none of these regulations remained long in force.

4. In November, 1732, one hundred and thirteen emigrants embarked for Georgia, at the head of whom the trustees had placed James Oglethorpe, a zealous and active promoter of this scheme of benevolence. In January, they arrived at Charleston; and the Carolinians, sensible of the advantage of having a barrier between them and the southern Indians, gave the adventurers a cordial welcome. They supplied them with provisions, and with boats to convey them to the place of their destination. Yamacraw bluff, since called Savannah, was selected as the most eligible place for a settlement.

5. The next year, five or six hundred poor persons arrived, and to each a portion of the wilderness was assigned. But it was soon found that these emigrants, who were the refuse of cities, had been rendered poor by idleness, and irresolute by poverty, were not fitted to fell the mighty groves of Georgia. A race more hardy and enterprising, was necessary. The trustees, therefore, offered to receive, also, such as had not, by persecution or poverty, been rendered objects of compassion, and to grant to all, who should settle in the colony, fifty acres of land. In consequence of this offer, more than four hundred persons, from Germany, Scotland, and Switzerland, arrived in the year 1735. The Germans settled at Ebenezer, the Scotch at New-Inverness, now Darien.

6. In 1736, John Wesley, a celebrated Methodist, made a visit to Georgia, for the purpose of preaching to the colonists, and converting the Indians. Among the former, he made some proselytes, but more enemies. He was accused of diverting the people from labor, of fomenting divisions, of claiming and exercising high and unwarranted ecclesiastical authority. His conduct towards the niece of one of the principal settlers was highly resented by her friends. Thirteen indictments, for alleged offences, were found against him; but before the time of trial, he returned to England, and there, for many years, pursued a successful and distinguished career of piety and usefulness.

7. Two years afterwards, George Whitfield, another

and more celebrated Methodist, arrived in the colony. He had already made himself conspicuous in England, by his numerous eccentricities, his ardent piety, his extraordinary eloquence, his zeal and activity in propagating his opinions. He came to Georgia for the benevolent purpose of establishing an orphan house, where poor children might be fed, clothed, and educated in the knowledge of christianity. In prosecution of this purpose, he often crossed the Atlantic, and traversed Great Britain and America, soliciting aid from the pious and charitable. Wherever he went, he preached, with sincerity and fervor, his peculiar doctrines, making proselytes of most who heard him, and founding a sect which has since become numerous and respectable. His orphan house, during his life, did not flourish, and after his death, was entirely abandoned.

8. In 1740, the trustees rendered an account of their administration. At that time, two thousand four hundred and ninety-eight emigrants had arrived in the colony. Of these, fifteen hundred and twenty-one were indigent Englishmen, or persecuted Protestants. The benefactions, from government and from individuals, had been nearly half a million of dollars; and it was computed that, for every person transported and maintained by the trustees, more than three hundred dollars had been expended.

9. The hope which the trustees had cherished, that the colony, planted at such vast expense, would be prosperous, and the objects of their benevolence happy, were completely disappointed. Such was the character of the greater part of the settlers, and such the restrictions imposed, that the plantations languished and continued to require the contributions of the charitable.

10. War having been declared against Spain, Mr. Oglethorpe was promoted to the rank of general in the British army, and at the head of two thousand men, partly from Virginia and the Carolinas, undertook an expedition against Florida. He took two Spanish forts and besieged St. Augustine; but encountering an obstinate resistance, was compelled to return unsuccessful to Georgia.

11. Two years afterwards the Spaniards, in retaliation, prepared to invade Georgia; and they intended, if successful there, to subjugate the Carolinas and Virginia. On receiving information of their approach, general Oglethorpe solicited assistance from South-Carolina. But the inhabitants of that colony, entertaining a strong prejudice against him, in consequence of his late defeat, and terrified by the

danger which threatened themselves, determined to provide only for their own safety.

12. Meanwhile general Oglethorpe made preparations for a vigorous defence. He assembled seven hundred men exclusive of a body Indians, fixed his head quarters at Frederica, on the island of St. Simon, and with this small band, determined to encounter whatever force might be brought against him. It was his utmost hope that he might be able to resist the enemy until a reinforcement should arrive from Carolina, which he daily and anxiously expected.

13. On the last of June, the Spanish fleet, consisting of thirty-two sail, and having on board more than three thousand men, came to anchor off St. Simon's bar. Notwithstanding all the resistance which general Oglethorpe could oppose, they sailed up the river Alatamaha, landed upon the island, and there erected fortifications.

14. General Oglethorpe, convinced that his small force, if divided, must be entirely inefficient, assembled the whole of it at Frederica. One portion he employed in strengthening his fortifications; the Highlanders and Indians, ranging night and day through the woods, often attacked the out-posts of the enemy. The toil of the troops was incessant; and the long delay of the expected succors, so cruelly withheld by South-Carolina, caused the most gloomy and depressing apprehensions.

15. Learning that the Spanish army occupied two distinct positions, Oglethorpe conceived the project of attacking one by surprise. He selected the bravest of his little army, and in the night marched, entirely unobserved, to within two miles of the camp which he intended to assail. Directing his troops to halt, he advanced, at the head of a small body, to reconnoitre the enemy. While thus employed, a French soldier of his party, firing his musket, deserted to the Spaniards. Discovery destroying all hope of success, the general immediately returned to Frederica. He was not only chagrined at this occurrence, but apprehended instant danger from the disclosure which the deserter would doubtless make of his weakness.

16. In this embarrassment, he devised an expedient which was attended with the most happy success. He wrote a letter to the deserter, instructing him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica; to urge them to attack the place, and if he could not succeed, to persuade them to remain three days longer on the island;

for within that time, according to late advices from Carolina, he should receive a reinforcement of two thousand men and six ships of war. He cautioned him against dropping any hint of the attack meditated, by admiral Vernon, upon St. Augustine, and assured him that the reward for his services should be ample.

17. For a small bribe, a soldier who had been made prisoner in one of the numerous skirmishes, engaged to deliver this letter to the deserter, and was then set at liberty. As was foreseen, he carried it directly to the Spanish general, who immediately suspected the deserter to be a spy from the English camp, and ordered him to be put in irons. But although his suspicions were awakened, he was yet uncertain whether the whole might not be a stratagem of his antagonist.

18. While hesitating what to believe, three small vessels of war appeared off the coast. Supposing they brought the reinforcements alluded to in the letter to the deserter, he hesitated no longer, but determined to make a vigorous attack upon the English, before these reinforcements could arrive and be brought into action.

19. General Oglethorpe, by mere accident, obtained information of their design. A small party was instantly placed in ambuscade, the Spaniards advanced near them, halted to rest, and laid aside their arms. A sudden and well directed fire, killing many, threw the enemy into confusion. After a few more discharges, they fled to their fortifications, which they demolished, and, hastily embarking, made every possible effort to escape from the reinforcements that were supposed to be approaching.

20. Thus was Georgia, with trifling loss, delivered from the most imminent danger. General Oglethorpe not only retrieved, but exalted his reputation. From the Carolinians, grateful for their preservation, and from the governors of most of the northern colonies, he received cordial congratulations upon his address and good fortune. And so mortified were the Spaniards at the result of the expedition, that the commander, on his return, was arrested, tried, and cashiered for misconduct.

21. But the prosperity of the colony was retarded by these disturbances. For ten years longer, it remained under the management of the trustees, who, embarrassing it by too much regulation, discouraged the emigrants and checked its growth. At length, disappointed in their hopes, and wearied by complaints, they surrendered their

charter to the crown; and, in 1754, a royal government was established over the colony.

22. New regulations being adopted, Georgia began to flourish. Among her governors, James Wright deserves honorable notice for his wisdom in discerning, and his zeal in pursuing, her true interests. The cultivation of rice and indigo was prosecuted with augmented industry, skill, and profit; and in every succeeding year, an increased amount of these staple commodities was exported to the mother country. The Florida Indians were sometimes troublesome, but were as often chastised and compelled to sue for peace.

CHAPTER XIV.

FRENCH WAR OF 1754—63.

The treaty of Aix la Chapelle concluded in 1748, between England and France, restored tranquillity to America. At this period, the number of inhabitants in the thirteen colonies was about one million one hundred thousand. The English settlements had not advanced far into the wilderness, but extended along the ocean from Newfoundland to Florida. Those of the French, at the north, reached from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Montreal; and they had built forts and trading houses on lake Ontario. At the south, they had planted New-Orleans, and having discovered the river Mississippi, they claimed the fertile and delightful valley through which it runs, and the whole country watered by its tributary streams.

2. They at length determined to connect their northern and southern settlements by a chain of posts extending along the frontiers of the English, from Lake Ontario to the Ohio, and down that river and the Mississippi to New-Orleans. While they were intent on this project, a company of English traders, having obtained from the king a grant of land, established trading houses on the banks of the Ohio.

3. The French seized some of these traders and conveyed them prisoners to Canada. The company complained to governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia. The land having been granted as a part of that colony, he determined to send a messenger to the commander of the French forces on the

Ohio, and require him to withdraw his troops. For this mission he selected George Washington, who was then twenty-one years of age, and who afterwards became illustrious in the annals of his country.

4. To the letter of Dinwiddie, the French commander replied, that he had taken possession of the country in pursuance of directions from his general, then in Canada, to whom he would transmit the letter, and whose orders he should implicitly obey. This reply not being satisfactory to the governor, preparations were made in Virginia, to maintain by force the rights of the British crown. Troops, constituting a regiment, were raised, the command of whom, on the death of the colonel first appointed, was given to Mr. Washington.

5. At the head of about four hundred men, he advanced, early in the spring, into the territory in dispute. On his route, he met, attacked, and defeated, a French party under the command of one Dijonville, who approached him in a manner indicating hostile intentions. He proceeded towards fort Du Quesne, situated at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela. From this fort, De Villier, at the head of nine hundred men, marched out to attack him.

6. Hearing of the approach of this party, colonel Washington halted, and hastily erected some imperfect works, by means of which he hoped to prolong his defence until the arrival of reinforcements. He was closely besieged by De Villier, but making an obstinate defence, was offered the most honorable terms of capitulation. These he accepted, and returned with his regiment to Virginia.

7. In this year, delegates from seven of the colonies met at Albany, for the purpose of holding a conference with the Six Nations of Indians. This business being finished, a confederation of the colonies was proposed by the delegates from Massachusetts. A "Plan of Union" was agreed upon, to be submitted to the colonial legislatures, and to parliament, for their adoption.

8. This plan provided that delegates to a General Council should be chosen by the representatives of the people, in the colonial assemblies, and that a president-general should be appointed by the crown. This council was to possess the control of the military force of the confederacy, and the power to concert all measures for the common protection and safety. The president-general was to have a negative upon the proceedings of the delegates.

9. This plan was rejected by parliament, because the delegates were to be chosen by the representatives of the people. It was rejected by the colonies, because it placed too much power in the hands of the king. In England, apprehensions were already entertained of the growing importance of the colonial assemblies. In America, the people began, perhaps unconsciously, to be actuated by the spirit of independence.

10. The conduct of the French, on the Ohio, convinced the cabinet of London that their claim to the country, through which that river flows, must be relinquished, or maintained by the sword. They did not hesitate which alternative to choose. Early in the spring of 1755, they despatched general Braddock to America, with a respectable force, to expel the French, and keep possession of the territory. And preparations having been made by France to despatch a reinforcement to her armies in Canada, admiral Boscawen was ordered to endeavour to intercept the French fleet before it should enter the gulf of St. Lawrence.

11. In April, general Braddock met the governors of the several provinces, to confer upon the plan of the ensuing campaign. Three expeditions were resolved upon: one against Du Quesne, to be commanded by general Braddock; one against forts Niagara and Frontinac, to be commanded by governor Shirley; and one against Crown Point, to be commanded by general Johnson. The last mentioned post was the nearest to New-England of any in the possession of the enemy; and from it almost all the Indian parties, which had, in the late wars, so cruelly harassed the northern colonies, were despatched and supported. The expedition against it was proposed and urged by Massachusetts, and was to be executed by colonial troops, raised in New-England and New-York.

12. While preparations were making for these expeditions, another, which had been previously concerted, was carried on against the French forces in Nova Scotia. This province was settled by the French, but was ceded to the English by the treaty of Utrecht. Its boundaries not having been defined, the French continued to occupy a portion of the territory claimed by the English, and had built forts for their defence. To gain possession of these was the object of the expedition.

13. About two thousand militia, commanded by colonel Winslow, embarked at Boston; and being joined on their

passage by three hundred regulars, arrived, in April, at the place of destination. The forts were invested; the resistance made was trifling and ineffectual; and in a short time the English gained entire possession of the province, according to their own definition of its boundaries. Three only of their men were killed.

14. The preparations of general Braddock, in Virginia, had proceeded slowly. It had been found extremely difficult to procure horses, wagons, and provisions. Impatient of delay, he determined to set out with twelve hundred men, selected from the different corps, and to proceed, as rapidly as possible, towards fort Du Quesne. The residue of the army, and the heavy baggage, were left under the command of colonel Dunbar, who was directed to follow as soon as the preparations were completed.

15. Braddock had been educated in the English army; and in the science of war, as then taught in Europe, he deserved and enjoyed the reputation of more than ordinary skill. Of this reputation he was vain, and disdained to consider that his skill was totally inapplicable to the mode of warfare practised in the forests of America. Before he left England, he was repeatedly admonished to beware of a surprise; and on his march through the wilderness, the provincial officers frequently entreated him to scour the surrounding thickets. But he held these officers and the enemy in too much contempt to listen to this salutary counsel.

16. On approaching fort Du Quesne, colonel Washington, who accompanied him as his aid, made a last attempt to induce him to change his order of march. He explained the Indian mode of warfare; represented his danger; and offered to take command of the provincials and place himself in advance of the army. This offer was declined. The general proceeded, confident of the propriety of his conduct; the provincials followed, trembling for the consequences.

17. On the ninth of July, the army crossed the Monongahela, within a few miles of Du Quesne. Their route led through a defile, which they had nearly passed, when a tremendous yell and instantaneous discharge of fire arms suddenly burst upon them from an invisible foe. The van was thrown into confusion. The general led the main body to its support. For a moment, order was restored, and a short cessation of the enemy's fire, occasioned by the death of their commander, seemed to indicate that all danger was over.

18. But the attack was soon renewed with increased fury. Concealed behind trees, logs, and rocks, the Indians poured upon the troops a deadly and incessant fire. Officers and men fell thickly around, and the survivers knew not where to direct their aim to revenge their slaughtered comrades. The whole body was again thrown into confusion. The general, obstinate and courageous, refused to retreat, but bent his whole efforts to restore and maintain order. He persisted in these efforts, until five horses had been shot under him, and every one of his officers on horseback, except colonel Washington, was either killed or wounded.

19. The general at length fell, and the rout became universal. The troops fled precipitately until they met the division under Dunbar, then sixty miles in the rear. To this body the same panic was communicated. Turning about, they fled with the rest, and although no enemy had been seen during the engagement, nor afterwards, yet the army continued retreating until it reached fort Cumberland, one hundred and twenty miles from the place of action. There they remained but a short time. With the remnant of the army, amounting to fifteen hundred men, colonel Dunbar, upon whom, on the death of Braddock, the command devolved, marched to Philadelphia, leaving the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia destitute of defence.

20. The provincial troops, whom Braddock had so much despised, displayed, during the battle, the utmost calmness and courage. Though placed in the rear, they alone, led on by Washington, advanced against the Indians and covered the retreat. Had they been permitted to fight in their own way, they could easily have defeated the enemy. In this battle, sixty-four, out of eighty-five officers, were either killed or wounded, and at least one half of the privates.

21. The two northern expeditions, though not so disastrous, were both unsuccessful. General Shirley, who had been appointed to command that against Niagara, met with so many delays that he did not reach Oswego until late in August. While embarking there to proceed against Niagara, the autumnal rains began, his troops became discouraged, his Indian allies deserted him, and he was compelled to relinquish his design.

22. The forces destined to attack Crown Point, and the requisite military stores, could not be collected at Albany

until the last of August. Thence the army, under the command of general Johnson, proceeded to the south end of Lake George, on their way to the place of destination. There he learned, that the armament, fitted out in the ports of France, eluding the English squadron, had arrived at Quebec, and that baron Dieskau, commander of the French forces, was advancing with an army towards the territories of the English. He halted, erected slight breastworks, and detached colonel Williams with a thousand men, to impede the progress of the enemy.

23. Dieskau, who was near, was immediately informed of the approach of this detachment. Without losing a moment, he directed his troops to conceal themselves. The English advanced into the midst of their enemy, and, from every quarter, received, at the same moment, a sudden and unexpected fire. Their leader fell, and the men fled, in disorder, to the camp.

24. They were followed closely by the enemy, who approached within one hundred and fifty yards of the breastwork: and, had they made an immediate assault, would probably, such was the panic of the English, have been successful. But here they halted, to make dispositions for a regular attack. The Indians and Canadians were despatched to the flanks, and the regular troops began the attack with firing, by platoons, at the centre. Their fire was ineffectual, and the provincials gradually resumed their courage.

25. A few discharges of the artillery drove the Canadians and Indians to the swamps. The regulars, although deserted by the auxiliaries, maintained the conflict for more than an hour, with much steadiness and resolution. Dieskau, convinced that all his efforts must be unavailing, then gave orders to retreat. This produced some confusion, which, being perceived by the provincials, they simultaneously, and without orders or concert, leaped over the intrenchments, fell upon the French soldiers, and killed, captured, or dispersed them. The baron was wounded and made prisoner.

26. The next day, colonel Blanchard, who commanded at fort Edward, despatched captain Folsom, of New-Hampshire, with two hundred men, to the assistance of general Johnson. On his way, he discovered between three and four hundred of the enemy seated around a pond, not far from the place where colonel Williams had been defeated. Notwithstanding his inferiority in numbers, he

determined to attack them. So impetuous was the onset, that, after a sharp conflict, the enemy fled. In the several engagements, the provincials lost about two hundred men; the enemy upwards of seven hundred.

27. General Johnson, though strongly importuned by the government of Massachusetts, refused to proceed upon his expedition, which was abandoned, and most of his troops returned to their respective colonies. Thus ended the campaign of 1755. It opened with the brightest prospects, immense preparations had been made, yet not one of the objects of the three great expeditions had been attained.

28. During the fall and winter, the southern colonies were ravaged, and the usual barbarities perpetrated upon the frontier inhabitants, by the savages, who, on the defeat of Braddock, and the retreat of his army, saw nothing to restrain their fury. In Virginia and Pennsylvania, disputes existed between the governors and legislatures, which prevented all attention to the means of defence. Scarcely a post was maintained, or a soldier employed in their service.

29. The colonies, far from being discouraged by the misfortunes of the last campaign, determined to renew and increase their exertions. General Shirley, to whom the superintendence of all the military operations had been confided, assembled a council of war at New-York, to concert a plan for the ensuing year. He proposed that expeditions should be carried on against Du Quesne, Niagara, and Crown Point, and that a body of troops should be sent, by the way of the rivers Kennebec and Chaudiere, to alarm the French for the safety of Quebec. This plan was unanimously adopted by the council.

30. Shirley, on the last of January, returned to Boston, to meet the assembly of Massachusetts, of which colony he was governor. He endeavored to persuade them to concur in the measures proposed; but, disgusted with the proceedings of the last campaign, and especially at general Johnson's neglecting to pursue his advantages, they were unwilling to engage in offensive operations, unless the command of their forces should be given to general Winslow, who had acquired popularity by his success in Nova Scotia. Their wishes were complied with, and their concurrence was then granted.

31. In April, news arrived from Great Britain, that the conduct of general Johnson, instead of being censured, was considered highly meritorious; that, as a reward for

his success, the king had conferred upon him the title of baronet, and parliament a grant of five thousand pounds sterling; that his majesty disapproved of the conduct of Shirley, and had determined to remove him from command.

32. This information not being official, general Shirley continued his preparations with his usual activity and zeal. While engaged in collecting, at Albany, the troops from the different colonies, general Webb brought from England official information of his removal. On the 25th of June, general Abercrombie arrived, and took command of the army. It now consisted of about twelve thousand men, and was more numerous and better prepared for the field than any army that had ever been assembled in America.

33. Singular as it may appear, while this sanguinary war raged in America, the intercourse between the two nations in Europe, not only continued uninterrupted, but seemed more than usually friendly. This unnatural state of things could not long continue. Great Britain declared war in May, and France in June.

34. The change of commanders delayed the operations of the English army. The French were active; and on the 12th of July, general Abercrombie received intelligence that they meditated an attack upon Oswego, a post of the utmost importance. General Webb was ordered to prepare to march with a regiment for the defence of that place. In the mean time, lord Loudon, who had been appointed commander-in-chief over all the British forces in the colonies, arrived in America.

35. Amidst the ceremonies which followed, the affairs of the war were forgotten. General Webb did not begin his march until the 12th of August. Before he had proceeded far, he learned that Oswego was actually besieged by a large army of French and Indians. Alarmed for his own safety, he proceeded no farther, but employed his troops in erecting fortifications for their defence.

36. General Montcalm, the commander of the French troops in Canada, began the siege of Oswego on the 12th of August. On the 14th, the English commander having been killed, terms of surrender were proposed by the garrison, and were agreed to. These terms were shamefully violated. Several of the British officers and soldiers were insulted, robbed, and massacred by the Indians. Most of the sick were scalped in the hospitals, and the French general delivered twenty of the garrison to the savages, that being the number they had lost during the siege.

Those unhappy wretches were, doubtless, according to the Indian custom, tortured and burnt.

37. General Webb was permitted to retreat, unmolested, to Albany. Lord Loudon pretended it was now too late in the season to attempt any thing farther, though the troops under general Winslow were within a few days march of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and were sufficient in number to justify an attack upon those places. He devoted the remainder of the season to making preparations for an early and vigorous campaign the ensuing year.

38. This spring had opened with still more brilliant prospects than the last; and the season closed without the occurrence of a single event that was honorable to the British arms, or advantageous to the colonies. This want of success was justly attributed to the removal of the provincial officers, who were well acquainted with the theatre of operations, but whom the ministry, desirous of checking the growth of talents in the colonies, were unwilling to employ. Yet the several assemblies, though they saw themselves thus slighted, and their money annually squandered, made all the preparations that were required of them for the next campaign.

39. The reduction of Louisburgh was the object to which the ministry directed the attention of lord Loudon. In the spring of 1757, he sailed from New-York, with 6000 men, and, at Halifax, met admiral Holbourn, with transports containing an equal number of troops, and a naval force consisting of fifteen ships of the line. When about to proceed to their place of destination, intelligence arrived that the garrison at Louisburgh had received a large reinforcement, and expected and desired a visit from the English. Disheartened by this intelligence, the general and admiral abandoned the expedition.

40. While the English commanders were thus irresolute and idle, the French were enterprising and active. In March, general Montcalm made an attempt to surprise fort William Henry, at the south end of Lake George, but was defeated by the vigilance and bravery of the garrison. He returned to Crown Point, leaving a party of troops at Ticonderoga. Against this post, near four hundred men were sent from the fort, under the command of colonel Parker.

41. The colonel was deceived in his intelligence, decoyed into an ambuscade, and attacked with such fury,

that but two officers and seventy privates escaped. Encouraged by this success, Montcalm determined to return and besiege fort William Henry. For this purpose, he assembled an army consisting of regular troops, Canadians and Indians, and amounting to near ten thousand men.

42. Major Putnam, a brave and active partizan, obtained information of the purposes of Montcalm, which he communicated to general Webb, who, in the absence of lord Loudon, commanded the British troops in that quarter. The general enjoined silence upon Putnam, and adopted no other measure, on receiving the intelligence, than sending colonel Monro to take command of the fort.

43. The day after this officer, ignorant of what was to happen, had arrived at his post, the lake appeared covered with boats, which swiftly approached the shore. Montcalm, with but little opposition, effected a landing, and immediately began the siege. The garrison, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, animated by the expectation of relief, made a gallant defence.

44. General Webb had an army at fort Edward, of more than four thousand men, and it was in his power to call in a large number of provincial troops from New-York and New-England. To him colonel Monro sent repeated and pressing solicitations for immediate succor. These he disregarded, seeming entirely indifferent to the distressing situation of his fellow soldiers.

45. At length, on the ninth day of the siege, in compliance with the entreaties of the friends of Monro, general Webb despatched Sir William Johnson, with a body of men, to his relief. They had not proceeded three miles, when the order was countermanded. Webb then wrote to Monro that he could afford him no assistance, and advised him to surrender on the best terms that he could obtain.

46. This letter was intercepted by Montcalm, who, in a conference which he procured, handed it himself to the commander of the fort. All hope of relief being extinguished, articles of capitulation were agreed to. In these it was expressly stipulated by Montcalm, that the prisoners should be protected from the savages, by a guard, and that the sick and wounded should be treated with humanity.

47. But the next morning, a great number of Indians, having been permitted to enter the lines, began to plunder. Meeting with no opposition, they fell upon the sick and

wounded, whom they immediately massacred. This excited their appetite for carnage. The defenceless troops were surrounded and attacked with fiend-like fury. Monro, hastening to Montcalm, implored him to provide the stipulated guard.

48. His entreaties were ineffectual, and the massacre proceeded. All was turbulence and horror. On every side, savages were butchering and scalping their wretched victims. Their hideous yells, the groans of the dying, and the frantic shrieks of others, shrinking from the uplifted tomahawk, were heard by the French unmoved. The fury of the savages were permitted to rage without restraint, until a large number were killed, or hurried captives into the wilderness.

49. The day after this awful tragedy, major Putnam was sent, with his rangers, to watch the motions of the enemy. When he came to the shore of the lake, their rear was hardly beyond the reach of musket shot. The prospect was shocking and horrid. The fort was demolished. The barracks and buildings were yet burning. Innumerable fragments of human carcases still broiled in the decaying fires. Dead bodies, mangled with tomahawks and scalping knives, in all the wantonness of Indian barbarity, were every where scattered around.

50. General Webb, apprehensive of an attack upon himself, sent expresses to the provinces for reinforcements. They were raised and despatched with expedition; but as Montcalm returned to Ticonderoga, they were kept in service but a few weeks. And thus ended the third campaign in America.

51. These continual disasters resulted from folly and mismanagement, rather than from want of means and military strength. The British nation was alarmed and indignant, and the king found it necessary to change his councils. At the head of the new ministry, he placed the celebrated William Pitt, who rose, by the force of his talents alone, from the humble post of ensign in the guards, to the control of the destinies of a mighty empire. Public confidence revived, and the nation seemed inspired with new life and vigor.

52. For the next campaign, the ministry determined upon three expeditions; one of twelve thousand men against Louisburgh; one of sixteen thousand against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and one of eight thousand against fort Du Quesne. The colonies were called upon

to render all the assistance in their power. Lord Loudon having been recalled, the command of the expedition against Louisburgh was given to general Amherst, under whom general Wolfe served as a brigadier. The place was invested on the 12th of June. Amherst made his approaches with much circumspection; and, without any memorable incident, the siege terminated, on the 26th of July, by the surrender of the place. Whenever an opportunity occurred, general Wolf, who was then young, displayed all that fire, impetuosity, and discretion, which afterwards immortalized his name.

53. The expedition against Ticonderoga, was commanded by general Abercrombie. He was accompanied by Lord Howe, whose military talents and amiable virtues made him the darling of the soldiery. This army consisted of seven thousand regular troops, and ten thousand provincials. When approaching the fort, a skirmish took place with a small party of the enemy, in which lord Howe was killed at the first fire. On seeing him fall, the troops moved forward with an animated determination to avenge his death. Three hundred of the enemy were killed on the spot, and one hundred and forty made prisoners.

54. The ardor of his men, and the intelligence gained from the prisoners, induced general Abercrombie to make an assault upon the works. It was received with undaunted bravery, and was persevered in with singular obstinacy. For four hours, the troops remained before the walls, attempting to scale them, and exposed to a destructive fire of musketry and artillery. The general, despairing of success, then directed a retreat. Near two thousand of the assailants were killed or wounded. The loss of the French was not great, and most of the killed were shot through the head, the other parts of their bodies being protected by their works.

55. After this bloody repulse, Abercrombie despatched colonel Bradstreet, with three thousand men, mostly provincials, against fort Frontenac, which was situated on Lake Ontario, and contained a large quantity of merchandise, provisions, and military stores. It fell an easy conquest, and the loss was severely felt by the French. The western Indians, not receiving their usual supply of merchandise, relaxed in their exertions; and the troops at Du Quesne suffered from the want of the provisions and military stores. These circumstances contributed essentially to facilitate the operations of the third expedition.

56. This was placed under the command of general Forbes. He left Philadelphia in the beginning of July, and, after a laborious march, through deep morasses and over unexplored mountains, arrived at Raystown, ninety miles from Du Quesne. An advanced party of eight hundred men, under the command of major Grant, was met by a detachment from the fort, and defeated, with great slaughter.

57. Forbes, undismayed by this disaster, advanced with cautious and steady perseverance. The enemy, observing his circumspection, determined not to abide the event of a siege. After dismantling the fort, they retired down the Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi. General Forbes, taking possession of the place, changed its name to Pittsburgh.

58. The campaign of 1758, was highly honorable to the British arms. Of the three expeditions, two had completely succeeded, and the leader of the third had made an important conquest. To the commanding talents of Pitt, and the confidence which they inspired, this change of fortune must be attributed; and in no respect were these talents more strikingly displayed, than in the choice of men to execute his plans.

59. Encouraged by the events of this year, the English anticipated still greater success in the campaign which was to follow. The plan marked out by the minister, was indicative of the boldness and energy of his genius. Three different armies were, at the same time, to be led against the three strongest posts of the French in America; Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Quebec. The latter post was considered the strongest; and it was therefore intended that, should Ticonderoga be conquered, the victorious army should press forward to assist in its reduction.

60. In the beginning of July, general Prideaux embarked on Lake Ontario, with the army destined against Niagara, and, on the sixth, landed about three miles from the fort. He immediately commenced a siege, in the progress of which he was killed, by the bursting of a shell. The command devolved upon Sir William Johnson. An army of French and Indians approaching soon after, he detached a part of his forces to meet them. A battle ensued; the English gained the victory, which was followed by the surrender of the fort.

61. General Amherst, to whom was assigned the expedition against Ticonderoga, found so many difficulties to

surmount, that he was unable to present himself before that place until late in July. It was immediately abandoned by the enemy. The British general, after repairing the works, proceeded against Crown Point. On his approach, this was also deserted, the enemy retiring to the Isle aux Noix. To gain possession of this post, great efforts were made, and much time consumed; but a succession of storms on Lake Champlain, prevented success. General Amherst was compelled to lead back his army to Crown Point, where he encamped for the winter.

62. The expedition against Quebec, was the most daring and important. That place, strong by nature, had been made still stronger by art, and had received the appropriate appellation of the Gibraltar of America. Every expedition against it had failed. It was now commanded by Montcalm, an officer of distinguished reputation; and an attempt to reduce it must have seemed chimerical to any one but Pitt. He judged, rightly, that the boldest and most dangerous enterprises are often the most successful. They arouse the energies of man, and elevate them to a level with the dangers and difficulties to be encountered, especially when committed to ardent minds, glowing with enthusiasm, and emulous of glory.

63. Such a mind he had discovered in general Wolfe, whose conduct at Louisburgh had attracted his attention. He appointed him to conduct the expedition, and gave him for assistants, brigadier generals Moncton, Townshend, and Murray; all, like himself, young and ardent. Early in the season, he sailed from Halifax, with eight thousand troops, and, near the last of June, landed the whole army on the island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec.

64. From this position he could take a near and distinct view of the obstacles to be overcome. These were so great, that even the bold and sanguine Wolfe perceived more to fear than to hope. In a letter to Mr. Pitt, written before commencing operations, he declared that he saw but little prospect of reducing the place.

65. Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and consists of an upper and lower town. The lower town lies between the river and a bold and lofty eminence, which runs parallel to it, far to the westward. At the top of this eminence is a plain, upon which the upper town is situated. Below, or east of the city, is the river St. Charles, whose channel is rough, and whose banks are steep and broken. A short distance farther down, is the

river Montmorency; and between these two rivers, and reaching from one to the other, was encamped the French army, strongly entrenched and at least equal in number to that of the English.

66. General Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, on the bank of the river opposite Quebec, and from that position cannonaded the town. Some injury was done to the houses, but his cannon were too distant to make any impression upon the works of the enemy. He resolved to quit this post, to land below Montmorency, and passing that river, to attack the French general in his entrenchments.

67. He succeeded in landing his troops, and, with a portion of his army, crossed the Montmorency. A partial engagement took place, in which the French obtained the advantage. Relinquishing this plan, he then determined, in concert with the admiral, to destroy the French shipping and magazines. Two attempts were unsuccessful; a third was more fortunate, yet but little was effected. At this juncture, intelligence arrived that Niagara was taken, that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been abandoned, but that general Amherst, instead of pressing forward to their assistance, was preparing to attack the Isle aux Noix.

68. Wolfe rejoiced at the triumph of his brethren in arms, but could not avoid contrasting their success with his own ill fortune. His mind, alike lofty and susceptible, was deeply impressed by the disasters at Montmorency; and the extreme chagrin of his spirits, preying upon his delicate frame, sensibly affected his health. He was observed frequently to sigh; and, as if life was only valuable while it added to his glory, he declared to his intimate friends, that he would not survive the disgrace which he imagined would attend the failure of his enterprise.

69. Despairing of success below the town, he next directed his efforts towards effecting a landing above it. He removed a part of his army to Point Levi, and the remainder higher up the river. He now found that, on this quarter, the fortifications were not strong; and discovered that the heights behind them might possibly be gained, by ascending the precipice in a narrow path, which was defended only by a captain's guard.

70. The difficulties attending this enterprise were numerous. The current was rapid, the shore shelving, the only landing place so narrow that it might easily be missed in the dark, and the steep above, such as troops, even when unopposed, could not ascend without difficulty. Yet the

plan, though bold and hazardous, was well adapted to the desperate situation of affairs, and was determined on.

71. To conceal their intention, the admiral retired several leagues up the river. During the evening, a strong detachment was put on board the boats, and moved silently down with the tide, to the place of landing, where they arrived an hour before daybreak. Wolfe leaped on shore, was followed by the troops, and all instantly began, with the assistance of shrubs and projecting rocks, to climb up the precipice. The guard was dispersed, and, by the dawn of day, the whole army gained the heights of Abraham, where the different corps were formed under their respective leaders.

72. Montcalm, at first, could not believe that the English had ascended the heights. When convinced of the fact, he comprehended the full advantage they had gained. He saw that a battle was inevitable, and prepared for it with promptness and courage. Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he advanced towards the English army, which was formed in order of battle to receive him.

73. The French advanced briskly. The English reserved their fire until the enemy were near, and then gave it with decisive effect. Early in the engagement, Wolfe was wounded in the wrist, but, preserving his composure, he continued to encourage his troops. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin. This painful wound he also concealed, placed himself at the head of the grenadiers, and was leading them to the charge, when he received a third and mortal wound.

74. Undismayed by the fall of their general, the English continued their exertions under Moncton, who, in a short time, was himself wounded, and the command devolved upon Townshend. About the same time, Montcalm received a mortal wound, and the second in command also fell. The left wing and centre of the French gave way. Part were driven into Quebec, and part over the river St. Charles.

75. On receiving his mortal wound, Wolfe was conveyed into the rear, where, careless about himself, he discovered, in the agonies of death, the most anxious solicitude concerning the fate of the day. From extreme faintness, he had reclined his head on the arm of an officer, but was soon aroused by the cry of, "they fly, they fly." "Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero. "The French," answered his attendant. "Then," said he, "I die contented," and immediately expired. A death so glorious,

and attended by circumstances so interesting, has seldom been recorded in history.

76. Five days after the battle, the city surrendered, and received an English garrison. The French concentrated their remaining forces at Montreal, and, early in the spring, made attempts to regain possession of Quebec. Unsuccessful in these, they returned to Montreal, towards which the whole British force in America, under the command of general Amherst, was approaching. This force was too strong to be resisted. In September, 1760, that city surrendered, and soon after all the French posts in Canada fell into the power of the English.

77. In the other parts of the world, their arms were equally successful; and, at the commencement of 1763, a peace, highly advantageous to their interests, was concluded at Paris. By the treaty, France ceded to Great Britain all her northern settlements in America, which relieved the colonies from the continual dread of savage incursions.

CHAPTER XV.

REVOLUTION.

In the late brilliant contest, England had made unprecedented exertions. At its close, she found that, though she had encircled her name with glory, and added extensive territories to her empire, she had increased, in proportion, the burdens of her subjects, having added three hundred and twenty millions of dollars to the amount of her debt. To find the means of defraying the annual charges of this debt, and her other increased expenditures, was the first and difficult task of her legislators.

2. Regard for their own interest and popularity impelled them to avoid, if possible, imposing the whole burden upon themselves and their fellow subjects at home; and their thoughts were turned to the colonies, as the source whence alleviation and assistance might be derived. On their account, it was alleged, the contest had been waged; they would share the advantages of its glorious termination, and justice required that they should also defray a portion of the expenses.

3. To adopt this expedient, the British ministry were

the more naturally led by the opinion which all the European governments entertained of the relation between the mother country and her colonies. They were supposed to be dependent on her will; their inhabitants a distinct and subordinate class of subjects, and their interests entirely subservient to her aggrandizement and prosperity.

4. Acting upon these principles, Great Britain had, by her laws of trade and navigation, confined the commerce of the colonies almost wholly to herself. To encourage her own artizans, she had even, in some cases, prohibited the establishment of manufactories in America. These restrictions, while they increased her revenue and wealth, greatly diminished the profits of the trade of the colonies, and sensibly impeded their internal prosperity. They were most injurious to New-England, where the sterility of the soil repelled the people from the pursuits of agriculture; there they were most frequently violated, and there the arbitrary mode of enforcing them, by writs of assistance, awakened the attention of a proud and jealous people to their natural rights, to their rights as English subjects, and to the rights granted and secured by their charters.

5. In the beginning of the year 1764, the British parliament enacted a law imposing duties upon certain articles of merchandise, to be paid in the colonial ports. Mr. Grenville, the prime minister, also proposed a resolution, "that it would be proper to charge certain stamp duties on the colonies," but postponed the consideration of that subject to a future session. As it was foreseen that the law would be disregarded, if extraordinary measures were not adopted to enforce it, provision was made that all penalties for violations of it, and of all other revenue laws, might be recovered in the admiralty courts. The judges of these courts were dependent solely on the king, and decided the causes brought before them, without the intervention of a jury.

6. Intelligence of these proceedings occasioned, in America, great and universal alarm. They were considered the commencement of a system of taxation, which, if not vigorously resisted, would, in time, be extended to every article of commerce, and to every internal source of income; and if the colonists could be deprived in one class of causes, why not in all, of that inestimable privilege, the trial by jury?

7. The general court of Massachusetts, at their session in June, took this law into consideration. The house of

representatives sent a spirited letter of instructions to their agent, in England, in which they denied the right of parliament to impose duties and taxes upon the people not represented in the house of commons; and directed him to remonstrate against the duties imposed, and the stamp act in contemplation. They also acquainted the other colonies with the instructions they had given to their agent, and desired their concurrence in the mode of opposition adopted. In the course of the year, several other colonies, particularly New-York and Virginia, remonstrated in respectful, but decided terms, against the proceedings of parliament.

8. In these several state papers, the right of Great Britain to collect a tax in the colonies, was explicitly denied; and the denial was supported by clear and powerful arguments. It was stated that the first emigrants came to America with the undoubted consent of the mother country; that all the expenses of removal, of purchasing the territory, and, for a long time, of protection from savage warfare, were defrayed by private individuals, except in the single instance of the settlement of Georgia: that charters, under the great seal, were given to the emigrants, imparting and securing to them and to their descendants, all the rights of natural born English subjects; that of these rights, none was more indisputable, and none more highly valued, than that no subject could be deprived of his property but by his own consent, expressed in person or by his representative; that taxes were but grants, by the representative, of a portion of his own property, and of that of those who had authorized him to act in their behalf. Could it be just, it was asked, that the representatives of Englishmen should "give and grant" the property of Americans? With what safety to the colonies, could the right of taxing them be confided to a body of men three thousand miles distant, over whom they had no control, none of whom could be acquainted with their situation or resources, and whose interests would impel them to make the burdens of the colonists heavy, that their own might be light?

9. But, besides infringing the rights of freemen, the measure was neither equitable nor generous. The colonies had domestic governments which they alone supported; in the late war, their exertions had been greater, in proportion to their ability, than those of England; they also had contracted debts which they must themselves

pay; the taxes laid by many of the assemblies, were higher than those paid by the inhabitants of England; if the war had been waged on their account, it was because, as colonies, they were beneficial to the mother country; and from its happy termination, they derived no advantage which was not the source of ultimate profit to her.

10. Upon men who entertained the strictest notions of colonial dependence, and parliamentary supremacy, these arguments had little effect. The minister was not diverted from his purpose. In March, 1765, he laid before parliament a bill, imposing stamp duties on certain papers and documents used in the colonies. At the first reading, it was warmly opposed; by some because it was impolitic, by two only because it was a violation of right.

11. The bill was supported by Charles Townshend, a brilliant orator, on the side of the ministry. At the conclusion of an animated speech, he demanded: "And these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, protected by our arms, until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load of national expense which we lie under?"

12. Colonel Barre, immediately rising, indignantly and eloquently exclaimed: "*Children planted by your care!* No. Your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe, the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say, the most terrible, that ever inhabited any part of God's earth. And yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, when they compared them with those they suffered in their own country, from men who should have been their friends.

13. "*They nourished by your indulgence!* No. They grew by your neglect. When you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, who were the deputies of some deputy sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; whose behavior, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of justice in their own.

14. "*They protected by your arms!* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence. They have exerted their valor, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country which, while its frontier was drenched in blood, has yielded all its little savings to your emolument. Believe me, and remember I this day told you so, the same spirit which actuated that people at first, still continues with them; but prudence forbids me to explain myself farther.

15. "God knows I do not at this time speak from party heat. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience, any one here may be, I claim to know more of America, having been conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has; but they are a people jealous of their liberties, and will vindicate them if they should be violated. But the subject is delicate; I will say no more."

16. Eloqence and argument availed nothing. The bill was almost unanimously passed. The night after, Doctor Franklin, then in England as agent for Pennsylvania, wrote to Charles Thompson: "The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy." "Be assured," said Mr. Thompson, in reply, "that we shall light up torches of quite another sort;" thus predicting the commotions which followed.

17. The act provided that all contracts and legal processes should be written on stamped paper, which was to be furnished, at exorbitant prices, by the government or should have no force in law. Information of its passage was received in all the colonies with sorrow and dismay. They saw that they must either surrender, without a struggle, their darling rights, or resist the government of a nation, which they had been accustomed to regard with filial respect, and was then the most powerful in the world.

18. The general assembly of Virginia were in session when the information arrived. Of that body, Patrick Henry, a young man, but a distinguished orator, was a member. Near the close of the session, he proposed five resolutions, in the first four of which were asserted the various rights and privileges claimed by the colonists, and, in the fifth, the right of parliament to tax America, was boldy and explicitly denied. These he defended by strong reason and irresistible eloquence, and they were adopted by a majority of one.

19. The next day, in his absence, the fifth resolution

was rescinded; but that and the others had gone forth to the world, and imparted higher animation to the friends of freedom. They were a signal to the resolute and ardent; they gave encouragement to the timid and cautious: they were industriously but privately circulated, in the principal cities, until they arrived in New-England, where they were fearlessly published in all the newspapers.

20. Nearly at the same time, and before the proceedings of Virginia were known in Massachusetts, her general court adopted measures to procure a combined opposition to the offensive laws. They passed a resolve proposing that a congress of delegates from the several colonies, should be held at New-York, and addressed letters to the other assemblies, earnestly soliciting their concurrence.

21. These legislative proceedings took place in May and June, 1765. They were the moderate and dignified expression of feelings, which animated, in a more intense degree, a great majority of the people. In New-England, associations, for the purpose of resisting the law, were organized, assuming, from Barre's speech, the appellation of "Sons of Liberty;" pamphlets were published vindicating the rights of the colonies; and the public journals were filled with essays pointing out the danger which threatened the cause of liberty, and encouraging a bold and manly resistance.

22. Excited by these publications, a multitude assembled in Boston, on the 14th of August, burned the effigy of Andrew Oliver, who had been appointed stamp-distributer, and demolished a building which they supposed he had erected for his office. Fearful of farther injury, Mr. Oliver declared his intention to resign, when the people desisted from molesting him.

23. Several days afterwards, a mob beset the house of Mr. Story, an officer of the detested admiralty court. They broke his windows, destroyed his furniture, and burned his papers. They then proceeded to the house of lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, by whose advice, it was supposed, the stamp-act had been passed. They entered it by force. Himself, his wife, and children fled. His elegant furniture was carried off or destroyed. The partitions of the house were broken down, and the next morning nothing but the bare and desolate walls remained.

24. When intelligence of these proceedings reached Newport, in Rhode Island, the people of that place assembled and committed similar outrages. Two houses

were pillaged, and the stamp-distributer, to preserve his own, was obliged to give to the leader of the exasperated populace a written resignation of his office. In Connecticut, similar commotions were also quieted by the resignation of the distributer of stamps for that colony.

25. In New-York, the people displayed equal spirit, but less turbulence and rage. The obnoxious act was printed, under the title of "The folly of England, and the ruin of America," and thus exhibited for sale in the streets. At an early period, the stamp-distributer prudently resigned his office; and when the stamped paper arrived, it was deposited for safe keeping in the fort. A mob required the lieutenant-governor to place it in their hands. He refused; but, terrified by their menaces, consented to deliver it to the magistrates, who deposited it in the city hall. Ten boxes, which afterwards arrived, were seized by the people, and committed to the flames.

26. So general was the opposition to the law, that the stamp-officers, in all the colonies, were compelled to resign. In Boston, care was taken, on the one hand, to prevent the recurrence of violent proceedings, and, on the other, to keep in full vigor the spirit of resistance. A newspaper was established, having for its device a snake divided into as many parts as there were colonies, and for its motto, "join or die." Mr. Oliver was required to resign his office, with more ceremony and solemnity, under a large elm, which had, from the meetings held under it, received the name of the tree of liberty.

27. In October, the congress recommended by Massachusetts, convened at New-York. Delegates from six provinces only were present. Their first act was a Declaration of Rights, in which they asserted, that the colonies were entitled to all the rights and liberties of natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain, the most essential of which were the exclusive right to tax themselves, and the privilege of trial by jury. A petition to the king, and a memorial to both houses of parliament, were also agreed on; and the colonial assemblies were advised to appoint special agents to solicit, in concert, a redress of grievances. To interest the people of England in the cause of the colonies, the merchants of New-York directed their correspondents, in that country, to purchase no more goods until the stamp-act should be repealed. Immediately after, non-importation agreements were adopted in the other colonies, and associations were

organized for the encouragement of domestic manufactures. To avoid the necessity of stamps, proceedings in the courts of justice were suspended, and disputes were settled by arbitration.

28. In the meantime, an entire change had taken place in the British Cabinet, and a proposition to repeal the stamp act was, by the new ministry, laid before parliament. An interesting debate ensued. Mr. Grenville, the late prime minister, declared, that to repeal the act under existing circumstances, would degrade the government, and encourage rebellion. "When," he demanded, "were the Americans emancipated? By what law, by what reason, do they ungratefully claim exemption from defraying expenses incurred in protecting them?"

29. William Pitt, he who had wielded, with such mighty effect, the power of England, in the late war, rose to reply. He regretted that he had not been able to attend in his place, and oppose the law on its passage. "It is now an act that has passed. I would speak with decency of every act of this house; but I must beg the indulgence of this house to speak of it with freedom. Assuredly a more important subject never engaged your attention; that subject only excepted, when, nearly a century ago, it was the question whether you yourselves were bond or free?

30. "Those who have spoken before me, with so much vehemence, would maintain the act because our honor demands it. But can the point of honor stand opposed against justice, against reason, against right? It is my opinion that England has no right to tax the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever.

31. "Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone; when, therefore, in this house, we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your majesty's commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty—what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your majesty the property of your commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms.

32. "It has been asked, when were the Americans emancipated? But I desire to know when they were made slaves. I hear it said, that America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that

America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of ourselves.

33. "The honorable member has said, for he is fluent in words of bitterness, that America is ungrateful. He boasts of his bounties towards her. But are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? The profits of Great Britain, from her commerce with the colonies, are two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, seventy years ago, are at three thousand pounds at present. You owe this to America. This is the price she pays you for protection.

34. "A great deal has been said without doors, and more than is discreet, of the power, of the strength of America. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. But on the ground of this tax, when it is wished to prosecute an evident injustice, I am one who will lift my hands and my voice against it. In such a cause, your success would be deplorable and victory hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her."

35. The sentiments of this great statesman prevailed in parliament. The stamp act was repealed; but another act was passed declaring that "the legislature of Great Britain has authority to make laws to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." The merchants of London rejoiced at this repeal. They had felt the effects of the colonial non-importation agreements, and dreaded that still more injurious consequences would follow.

36. But far greater were the rejoicings of the Americans. They had obtained the object for which they had contended. They regarded the declaratory act as the mere reservation of wounded pride, and welcomed with transport the opportunity of again cherishing their former affection for the land of their fathers. The assemblies of several colonies voted their thanks to Mr. Pitt, and to others in England, who had supported their cause; and that of Virginia resolved to erect an obelisk to their honor, and a marble statue of the king, as a memorial of gratitude.

37. By the people of New-England and New-York less joy was felt and less gratitude displayed. The laws imposing duties on their trade were still in force. The courts of admiralty, sitting without juries, still retained jurisdiction of all revenue causes. Their repeated contests with their governors, had weakened their attachment to the nation that appointed them, and confirmed their republican principles. They still remembered the past and entertained suspicions of the future.

38. The very next year events occurred which justified these suspicions. A law of parliament, which remained unrepealed, directed that whenever troops should be marched into any of the colonies, quarters, rum, and various necessary articles, should be provided for them, at the expense of the colony. The assembly of New-York refused obedience to this law, considering in an indirect mode of taxing them without their consent. To punish this disobedience, parliament immediately suspended the authority of the assembly. It was easily seen that nothing had been gained, if this power of suspension, for such a cause, existed, and could be exercised at pleasure.

39. The alarm, occasioned by this act of despotic power, was increased by a measure, which, under the auspices of a new ministry, was adopted in June, 1767. A duty was imposed by parliament on the importation into the colonies, of glass, tea, and other enumerated articles, and provision was made for the appointment of commissioners of the customs to be dependent solely on the crown.

40. Early in the next year, the general court of Massachusetts, pursuing the same course as in 1764, addressed a letter to their agent in London, containing able arguments against those duties, and requested him to communicate the letter to the ministry. They also sent to the other colonial assemblies, a circular letter, in which these arguments were repeated, and suggested the expediency of acting in concert, in all endeavors to obtain redress.

41. These proceedings incensed and alarmed the ministry. They feared that a union of the colonies would give them strength and confidence, and determined if possible to prevent it. They instructed Sir John Bernard, then governor of Massachusetts, to require the general court to rescind the vote directing the circular letter to be sent, and in case of refusal to dissolve it. The governor

communicated these instructions to the house of representatives, which, by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen, refused to rescind, and was accordingly dissolved.

42. The attempt to intimidate did but strengthen opposition. The non-importation agreements, which had been lately abandoned, were renewed, and more extensively adopted. The citizens of Boston met, and proposed that a convention of delegates from the several towns in the province, should be held at that place. Nearly every town accordingly sent delegates. This convention, though it disclaimed all legal authority, was regarded with the same respect as a legitimate assembly. Its proceedings were unimportant, but by its sessions in the metropolis of New-England, the people became accustomed to pay deference to a body of men deriving all their authority from the instructions of their constituents.

43. On so many occasions had the refractory spirit of the citizens of Boston been displayed, that general Gage, who was commander-in-chief of all the troops in the colonies, was ordered to station a regiment in that town, as well to overawe the citizens, as to protect the officers of the revenue in the discharge of their duty. Before the order was executed, the seizure of a sloop belonging to Mr. Hancock, a popular leader, occasioned a riot, in which those officers were insulted and beaten. The general, on receiving information of this event, sent two regiments instead of one, and on the first of October they arrived in the harbour.

44. The ships that brought them, taking a station that commanded the whole town, lay with their broadsides towards it, ready to fire should resistance be attempted. The troops, with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, then landed; and, the selectmen having refused to provide quarters, they took possession of the state-house. All the rooms, except one reserved for the council, were filled, and two peices of cannon were placed near the principal entrance.

45. With indignant and exasperated feelings, the people witnessed this threatening display of military force. They saw the hall of their venerated legislature polluted by the tread of foreign mercenaries. They saw soldiers parading their streets and guards mounted at the corners. They were challenged as they passed, and the unwelcome din of martial music often disturbed their repose. They

knew that intimidation was the object, and felt a stronger determination to resist than had before animated their bosoms.

46. Resolutions, in the mean time, had been adopted in parliament, censuring, in the strongest terms the conduct of the people of Massachusetts, and directing the governor to make strict inquiry, as to all treasons committed in that province, since the year 1667, in order that the persons most active in committing them might be sent to England for trial.

47. These resolutions rendered it sufficiently evident that Great Britain had determined to adhere to the system of measures she had adopted. In May, they were taken into consideration by the house of burgesses of Virginia. In sundry resolutions, they reasserted the right of the colonies to be exempted from parliamentary taxation, and declared that seizing persons in the colonies, suspected of having committed crimes therein, and sending them beyond sea to be tried, violated the rights of British subjects, as it deprived them of the inestimable right of being tried by a jury of the vicinage, and of producing witnesses on their trial.

48. While these resolutions were under discussion, the house, apprehensive of an immediate dissolution should the subject of their deliberations be known to the governor, closed their doors. The instant they were opened, a message was announced, requesting their attendance before him. "Mr. Speaker," said he, "and gentlemen of the house of burgesses. I have heard of your resolves, and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

49. This, like every previous measure of intimidation, excited to a still higher degree, the spirit of opposition. The members assembled at a private house, elected their speaker to preside as moderator, and unanimously formed a non-importation agreement similar to those previously adopted at the north. In a few weeks, the example of Virginia was followed by most of the southern colonies.

50. To the citizens of Boston, the troops quartered among them were a painful and irritating spectacle. Quarrels occurring daily between them and the populace, increased the animosity of each to ungovernable hatred. At length, on the evening of the fifth of March, an affray took place in King-street, [since called State-street,] in

which a detachment of the troops commanded by captain Preston, after being insulted, pelted with snow-balls and dared to fire, discharged their muskets upon the multitude, killing four persons and wounding others.

51. The drums were instantly beat to arms, and several thousand people assembled, who, enraged by the sight of the dead bodies of their fellow citizens, slain in a cause dear to them all, prepared to attack a larger detachment which had been sent to support their comrades. In this state of excitement, they were addressed by lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, who appeared in the midst of them. Though personally obnoxious, he calmed their fury, and prevailed upon them to disperse until morning.

52. The next day, captain Preston and his party were arrested and committed to prison. The citizens met and appointed a committee to demand the immediate removal of the troops from the town. At this meeting Samuel Adams, an inflexible patriot, was distinguished for his decision and boldness. After some hesitation, on the part of the commanding officer, they were sent to castle William, and were accompanied by several officers of the customs who dreaded the indignation of the people.

53. Three days afterwards, the funeral of the deceased took place. It was conducted with great pomp, and unusual ceremonies, expressive of the public feeling. The shops were closed. The bells of Boston, Roxbury, and Charlestown were tolled. Four processions, moving from different parts of the town, met at the fatal spot, and proceeded thence towards the place of interment. This united procession comprised an immense number of people on foot and in carriages, all displaying the deepest grief and indignation. The bodies were deposited together in the same vault.

54. When the passions of the people had in some degree subsided, captain Preston and his soldiers were brought to trial. They were defended by John Adams, and Josiah Quincy, two able lawyers, and distinguished leaders of the popular party. For nearly six weeks, the court were employed in examining witnesses, and in listening to the arguments of counsel. Captain Preston, not having ordered his men to fire, was acquitted by the jury. Of the soldiers, six were also acquitted, there being no positive testimony that they fired upon the people; and two were acquitted of murder, as great provocation was offered, but

found guilty of manslaughter—a result evincing the integrity of the jury and the magnanimity and uprightness of the counsel for the accused.

55. While these events were occurring in the colonies, an attempt, supported by the prime minister, was made in England, to repeal all the laws for raising a revenue in America. The parliament, with a mixture of timidity and obstinacy, characteristic of the councils of the nation at that period, relinquished all the duties but that on tea, and this they unwisely retained to assert and display their supremacy over the colonies.

56. This partial repeal produced no change in the sentiments of the people. By rendering the contest more clearly a contest of principle, it sanctified their conduct in their own view, and ennobled it in that of the world. The non-importation agreements, however, were made to correspond with the altered law. Tea only was to be excluded from the country; and this article of luxury was banished from the tables of all who were friendly to American rights.

CHAPTER XVI.

REVOLUTION.

The years 1771 and 1772 were not distinguished by any important event. The southern colonies, more agricultural than commercial, suffered but little from the operation of the laws of trade, and, having mostly popular governors, continued tranquil. In Massachusetts, various causes contributed to increase the discontent which previously existed. Governor Hutchinson, having adjourned the general court to Salem, refused, notwithstanding reiterated remonstrances, to permit them to return to Boston. He withdrew the provincial troops from the castle and supplied their place with regulars, as the British troops were then called. He declined receiving his salary from the colonial treasury, stating that his majesty had assigned to him, and also to the judges, permanent and honorable salaries, to be paid in Great Britain. These measures were highly unpopular, and especially the last which released those officers from all dependence on the people.

2. To ascertain the sentiments of the inhabitants; to

enlighten the remotest parts of the province by diffusing intelligence, and distributing political essays; and to produce concert in measures, James Warren and Samuel Adams suggested and procured the appointment, in every town, of committees of correspondence. By the agency of these, resolutions and addresses, sometimes inflammatory and always spirited, were speedily conveyed through the country, arousing the attention of all and exhorting to perseverance in the cause of liberty. This example was soon after followed in other colonies; and in 1773, at the suggestion of the Virginia assembly, standing committees were appointed, by the colonial legislatures, to correspond with each other. This institution, when more active opposition became necessary, was found extremely useful.

3. In this year, Dr. Franklin obtained in London a number of original letters from governor Hutchinson, lieutenant-governor Oliver and others, to their correspondents in parliament. In these letters, the opposition in Massachusetts was stated to be confined to a few factious individuals, who had been emboldened by the weakness of the means used to restrain them. Measures more vigorous were recommended: and the ministry were urged to take from the people and exercise themselves the power of appointing counsellors and all colonial magistrates. These letters he transmitted to Boston.

4. The source and occasion of the offensive proceedings of parliament were now disclosed. The passions of the people were highly inflamed, and the weight of popular indignation fell upon the authors of these letters. The central committee of correspondence, at Boston, sent printed copies, enclosed in a spirited circular, to all the towns in the province. And the general court, in several resolutions which were also published, animadverted with severity upon the misrepresentations and advice contained in the letters, thus increasing the irritation which their discovery and perusal had occasioned.

5. Meanwhile the tea of the East India Company, not finding a market in America, accumulated in their warehouses in England. Encouraged by the government, they resolved to export it on their own account, and appointed consignees in the various sea-ports in the colonies. Those in Philadelphia were induced, by the disapprobation expressed by the citizens, to decline their appointment. In New-York, spirited handbills were circulated menacing with ruin every person who should be concerned in vending

tea, and requiring the pilots, at their peril, not to conduct ships, loaded with that article, into the harbor. Intimidated by these proceedings, the captains of the tea ships, bound to those ports, returned with their cargoes to England.

6. In Boston, inflammatory handbills were also circulated, and meetings held; but the consignees, being mostly relatives of the governor, and relying on his support, refused to decline their appointments. Their refusal enraged the citizens, and the community became agitated by the operation of highly excited passions. Meetings were more frequently held. The committees of correspondence were every where active. The people of the country exhorted their brethren in Boston to act worthy of their former character, worthy of "Sons of Liberty," upon whose conduct, in the present emergency, every thing depended.

7. On the 29th of November, a ship, laden with tea, came into the harbor. Notifications were immediately posted up, inviting every friend to his country to meet forthwith and concert united resistance to the arbitrary measures of Britain. A crowded meeting was held, and a resolution adopted, "that the tea should not be landed, that no duty should be paid, and that it should be sent back in the same vessel." A watch was also organized to prevent it from being secretly brought on shore.

8. A short time was then allowed for the captain to prepare to return home with his cargo. Governor Hutchinson refused to grant him the requisite permission to pass the castle. Other vessels, laden with tea, arrived. The agitation increased, and on the 18th of December, the inhabitants of Boston and the adjoining towns assembled to determine what course should be pursued. At this important meeting, Josiah Quincy, desirous that the consequences of the measures to be adopted should be first seriously contemplated, thus addressed his fellow citizens.

9. "It is not, Mr. Moderator, the spirit that vapours within these walls that will sustain us in the hour of need. The proceedings of this day will call forth events which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Whoever supposes that shouts and hosannas will terminate our trials, entertains a childish fancy. We must be grossly ignorant of the value of the prize for which we contend; we must be equally ignorant of the power of those who have combined against us; we must be blind to that inveterate malice and insatiable revenge which actuate our enemies, abroad and in our bosom, to hope that

we shall end this controversy without the sharpest conflicts —or to flatter ourselves that popular resolves, popular harangues, and popular acclamations, will vanquish our foes. Let us consider the issue; let us look to the end; let us weigh and deliberate, before we advance to those measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw."

10. In the evening the question was put, "Do you abide by your former resolution to prevent the landing of the tea?" The vote was unanimous in the affirmative. Application was again made to the governor for a pass. After a short delay, his refusal was communicated to the assembly. Instantly a person, disguised like an Indian, gave the war whoop from the gallery. At this signal, the people rushed out of the house and hastened to the wharves. About twenty persons, in the dress of Mohawks, boarded the vessels, and, protected by the crowd on shore, broke open three hundred and forty-two chests of tea and emptied their contents into the ocean. Their purpose accomplished, the multitude returned without tumult to their habitations.

11. These proceedings excited the anger of parliament and the displeasure of the British nation. Punishment, not a change of measures, was resolved upon. An act, closing the port of Boston, and removing the custom-house to Salem, was passed, and was to continue in force until compensation should be made for the tea destroyed; another act was passed, taking from the general court and giving to the crown the appointment of counsellors; and general Gage was made governor in the place of Mr. Hutchinson.

12. Intelligence of the Boston port-bill occasioned a meeting of the citizens of the town; they were sensible that "the most trying and terrible struggle" was indeed now approaching, but felt unawed by its terrors. They sought not to shelter themselves from the storm by submission, but became more resolute as it increased. They declared the act to be unjust and inhuman, and invited their brethren in the other colonies to unite with them in a general non-importation agreement.

13. A similar spirit pervaded and animated the whole country. Addresses from the adjacent towns, and from every part of the continent, were sent to the citizens of Boston, applauding their resolution, exhorting them to perseverance, and assuring them that they were considered as suffering in a common cause. In Virginia, the first day

of June, when the law began to operate, was observed as a public and solemn fast. With devout feelings, the divine interposition was implored, in all the churches, to avert the evils of civil war, and to give to the people one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose every invasion of their liberty.

14. The same day was observed, with similar solemnity, in most of the other colonies; and thus an opportunity was presented to the ministers of the gospel to dispense political instruction, to paint, in vivid colors, the sufferings of the citizens of Boston, and to warn their congregations, that, should Great Britain succeed in her schemes, the danger to their religious would be as great as to their civil privileges; that a tame submission to the will of parliament, would inevitably be followed by bishops, tithes, test acts, and ecclesiastical tribunals.

15. The sufferings of the inhabitants of Boston were indeed severe. Nearly all were compelled to be idle. Many, by loss of employment, lost their sole means of support. In this extremity, contributions in money and provisions were forwarded to them from all the colonies, as proofs of sympathy in their distresses, and of approbation of their having met and manfully withstood the first shock of arbitrary power.

16. Gradually and constantly had the minds and feelings of the Americans been preparing for this important crisis. That enthusiastic patriotism which elevates the soul above all considerations of interest or danger had now become their ruling passion. The inhabitants of Salem spurned advantages to be derived from the punishment inflicted on a sister town, for its zeal in a sacred and common cause. "We must," said they, in a remonstrance to the governor, "be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity; could we indulge one thought, to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes from the ruin of our suffering neighbours."

17. In June, the general court assembled at Salem, and among their first acts were, the recommendation of a continental congress, which had been suggested by the committee of correspondence in Virginia, and the choice of delegates to attend it. While engaged, with closed doors, in this business, governor Gage, who had received a private intimation of their purposes, dissolved the court by a proclamation which was read upon the steps. In all the other colonies, except Georgia, delegates were also chosen.

18. On the 5th of September, these delegates met at Philadelphia. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was unanimously elected president, and Charles Thompson, secretary. It was determined that each colony should have but one vote, whatever might be the number of its deputies, and that all their transactions, except such as they might resolve to publish, should be kept inviolably secret.

19. Resolutions were then adopted, expressing the sympathy of congress in the sufferings of their countrymen in Massachusetts, and highly approving the wisdom and fortitude of their conduct. They also resolved that the importation of goods from Great Britain should cease on the first day of the succeeding December, and all exports to that country on the 10th of September, 1775, unless American grievances should be sooner redressed. These resolutions possessed no legal force, but never were laws more faithfully observed.

20. In other resolutions, they enumerated certain rights, which, as men and English subjects, "they claimed, demanded, and insisted on;" and recounted numerous violations of those rights by parliament. Addresses to the people of Great Britain, to the inhabitants of Canada, and to their constituents, were prepared and published; and an affectionate petition to the king was agreed upon.

21. In these able and important state papers, the claims, principles, and feelings of their constituents are clearly and eloquently set forth. They glow with the love of liberty, they display a determination, too firm to be shaken, to defend and preserve it at every hazard; they contain the strongest professions of attachment to the mother country, and of loyalty to the king. A desire of independence is expressly disavowed. "Place us," says the congress, "in the situation we were in, at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored." "We ask," say they in their petition, "but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain."

22. These papers, going forth to the world, made the cause of the colonies known throughout Europe, and conciliated those who had embraced liberal principles in politics, or felt displeasure at the pride and haughtiness of Britain. Their tone of manly energy, and the knowledge

they displayed of political science, excited universal applause and admiration.

23. "When your lordships," said Mr. Pitt, in the British senate, "have perused the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider the dignity, the firmness, and the wisdom, with which the Americans have acted, you cannot but respect their cause. History, my lords, has been my favorite study; and in the celebrated writings of antiquity I have often admired the patriotism of Greece and Rome; but, my lords, I must declare and avow, that in the master states of the world, I know not the people nor the senate, who, in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled, in general congress, at Philadelphia. I trust that it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be futile."

24. In America, the proceedings of congress were read with enthusiasm and veneration. Their reasonings confirmed the conviction, strongly felt by nearly the whole people, of the perfect justice of their cause. In the address to themselves, they were admonished "to extend their views to mournful events, and to be in all respects prepared for every contingency." Great efforts were consequently made to provide arms and all the munitions of war. Independent companies were formed; voluntary trainings were frequent; the old and the young, the rich and the poor devoted their hours of amusement and of leisure, to exercises calculated to fit them to act a part in the anticipated conflict. The country was alive with the bustle of preparation, and in every countenance could be read the expectation of important transactions, in which all must participate.

25. Complete unanimity, however, did not exist. Some of the late emigrants from England, the most of those who held offices by her appointment, many whose timidity magnified her power, clung to her authority, and as the crisis approached, declared themselves her adherents. These were denominated tories; the friends of liberty, whigs—names by which the advocates of arbitrary power, and the friends of constitutional liberty, were distinguished in England.

26. General Gage, who had been recently appointed governor of Massachusetts, withdrew, from other posts on

the continent, several regiments of troops, and encamped them on the common, in Boston. He afterwards erected fortifications on the Neck, a narrow isthmus which unites the town with the main land; and on the night of the first of September, he seized the powder deposited in the provincial arsenal at Cambridge.

27. The people, meanwhile, were not idle. They appointed delegates to a provincial congress, which assembled in the beginning of October. Mr. Hancock was chosen president, and the delegates resolved, that, for the defence of the province, a military force, to consist of one fourth of the militia, should be organized and stand ready to march at a minute's warning; that money should be raised to purchase military stores; and they appointed a committee of supplies, and a committee of safety, to sit during the recess.

28. The more southern provinces, particularly Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, displayed the same love of liberty and determination to resist; provincial congresses were convened, committees appointed, and resolutions passed, designed and adapted to animate those who, in Massachusetts, stood in the post of danger, and to excite in all hearts that devotion to country which is alone capable of sustaining a people in an arduous struggle with a superior foe.

29. In the parliament of Great Britain, American affairs came on to be discussed, in the beginning of the year 1775. Several plans of conciliation were brought forward by the opposition and rejected; but one, proposed by lord North, the prime minister, was adopted. The purport of it was, that if any colony would engage to contribute a sum satisfactory to his majesty, for the common defence, the parliament would forbear to tax that colony, so long as the contribution was punctually paid. This plan conceded nothing. To weaken the colonies by dividing them was so evidently the object, that all indignantly spurned the proffered terms.

30. In connection with this conciliatory proposition, as it was called, measures of punishment and intimidation were adopted. The northern colonies were prohibited from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, additional restrictions were imposed upon the trade of all of them, and several ships of the line, and ten thousand troops, were sent to America.

31. In the debates in parliament, the friends of the

colonies, although few, were animated in their praise and eloquent in their defence. The adherents of the ministry indulged in the grossest abuse and ridicule. The Americans, they said, were naturally cowards, habitually lazy, and constitutionally feeble; they were incapable of discipline; and a small force would be sufficient to conquer them. This ignorance of their character, which was general throughout England, doubtless caused the ministry to persist in measures which, had their information been correct, they would never have ventured to undertake.

32. On the evening of the 18th of April, general Gage despatched from Boston a body of eight hundred troops, to destroy a quantity of provisions and military stores deposited, by the committee of supplies, at Concord. Intelligence of this movement was sent to Lexington and Concord a few hours before the troops embarked. The ringing of bells and the firing of signal guns brought the minute-men together. Early the next morning, those of Lexington assembled on the green near the meeting-house. A few minutes afterwards, the advanced body of the regulars approached within musket shot. Major Pitcairn, riding forward, exclaimed, "Disperse, you rebels, throw down your arms and disperse." Not being instantly obeyed, he discharged his pistol and ordered his men to fire. They fired and killed several. The militia dispersed; but the firing continued. In the whole, eight were killed, some of whom were shot in their concealment behind the fences.

33. The detachment proceeded to Concord. The minute-men of that town had also assembled; but, being few in number, they retired on the approach of the regulars. These entered the town and destroyed the provisions and stores. The minute-men were reinforced and advanced again towards the regulars. A skirmish ensued, in which captain Davis, of Acton, was killed. The British troops were compelled to retreat, leaving behind them several killed and wounded.

34. The whole country was now in arms, and the troops retreated with precipitation. The militia not only pressed upon their rear, but placed themselves singly behind trees and stone walls, and, from these secure coverts, fired upon them as they passed. At Lexington they met a reinforcement under lord Percy, which general Gage had despatched on receiving information of the occurrences there in the morning.

35. After resting a moment, the whole body proceeded towards Boston. In their progress they were more and more harassed by the provincials, whose number hourly increased, and who became in proportion more adventurous. Having an intimate knowledge of all the roads, they could pursue with less fatigue, and meet the enemy unexpectedly at the various windings; and being all experienced marksmen, their shots seldom failed of effect. At sunset, the regulars, almost overcome with fatigue, passed along Charlestown Neck, and found, on Bunker's Hill, a place of security and repose.

36. In this engagement, sixty-five of the royal forces were killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners. Of the provincials, fifty were killed, thirty-four were wounded, and four were missing. The killed were lamented and honored as the first martyrs in the cause of liberty. In the various sections of country from which they came, hatred of Great Britain took still deeper root; and New-England, connected more than any other part of the world, as one great family, by the closest intimacy of all the inhabitants, universally felt the deprivation with a mixed feeling of sorrow and rage.

37. Intelligence of the battle of Lexington spread rapidly through Massachusetts, and the adjoining provinces. The farmer left his plough in the furrow, the mechanic dropped the utensil in his hand, and seizing their arms, all hastened to the environs of Boston. In a few days, a large army was assembled, which, under the command of general Ward, of Massachusetts, and general Putnam, of Connecticut, closely invested the town, and alarmed general Gage for the safety of his garrison.

38. In the remoter provinces, the intelligence was considered of solemn and alarming import. The great drama was opened, and the part which each should take must immediately be chosen. By many a resort to arms had never been anticipated. To them, the decision was more painful; but all the colonies, except Georgia, adopted at once the heroic resolution to unite their fortunes with those of New-England.

39. Connecticut had poured forth her full proportion of hardy yeomanry to man the lines around Boston; but several, who remained at home, conceived the project of surprising Ticonderoga, a fortified post on the western shore of Lake Champlain, and commanding the entrance into Canada. They communicated their design to colonel

Ethan Allen, of Vermont, who, upon their arrival at Castleton with forty men, met them there at the head of two hundred and thirty Green Mountain boys. The next day, captain Benedict Arnold, of Connecticut, who, upon the first alarm, had hastened to Boston, arrived from that place, having conceived the same project and been authorized, by the committee of safety in Massachusetts, to undertake it.

40. Allen and Arnold, at the head of the Green Mountain boys, hastened to Ticonderoga, and the remainder of the party to Skeensborough. On the night of the ninth of May, about eighty, all that the boats could carry, crossed the lake, and, at dawn of day, landed near the fortress. They advanced to the gateway. A sentinel snapped his fusee at colonel Allen and retreated. The Americans, following, found the commander in bed. Colonel Allen demanded the surrender of the fort. "By what authority do you demand it?" "In the name," replied Allen, "of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The British officer, having but fifty men, saw that resistance would be vain, and agreed to surrender.

41. When the remainder of the party arrived, they were despatched, under colonel Seth Warner, to take possession of Crown Point; and Arnold, hastily manning a schooner, sailed to capture a sloop of war lying at the outlet of the lake. These two expeditions, as well as that against Skeensborough, were successful; and thus was obtained, without bloodshed, the command of those important posts, together with more than one hundred pieces of cannon, and other munitions of war. The unexpected news of this brilliant success imparted high courage and animation to the Americans.

42. Most of the militia, who had repaired to Boston, returned soon after to their homes, but a sufficient number remained, posted near the Neck, to prevent the British from leaving the town by land. Between detachments from these and parties of regulars, who were often sent to collect forage on the islands in the harbor, frequent skirmishes took place, in most of which the Americans were successful.

43. In the beginning of June, several transports, filled with troops, commanded by generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, arrived from England, and general Gage began to act with more decision and vigor. He issued a proclamation declaring those in arms, and all who aided them,

rebels and traitors, and threatened to punish them as such, unless they immediately returned to their peaceful occupations. He promised his majesty's pardon to all who should in this manner give proof of their repentance and amendment, excepting Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose crimes, he alleged, were too flagitious to admit of pardon.

44. This proclamation, and the arrival of the troops, far from dismaying, aroused the people to greater activity and watchfulness. Again the militia assembled and surrounded Boston. Unwilling to endure the inconvenience and disgrace of this confinement, general Gage made preparation to penetrate, with a portion of his army, into the country. To prevent this, the provincial generals resolved to occupy Bunker's Hill, an eminence in Charlestown, situated on a peninsula that approaches near to Boston.

45. On the evening of the 16th of June, a thousand men, under the command of colonel Prescot, of Massachusetts, colonel Stark, from New-Hampshire, and captain Knowlton, from Connecticut, were despatched on this service. They were conducted, by mistake, to Breed's Hill, which was nearer to the water and to Boston, than Bunker's. At twelve o'clock they began to throw up entrenchments, and by dawn of day, had completed a redoubt eight rods square. As soon as they were discovered, they were fired upon from a ship of war and several floating batteries lying near, and from a fortification in Boston opposite the redoubt. The Americans, nevertheless, encouraged by general Putnam, who often visited them on the hill, continued to labor until they had finished a slight breastwork extending from the redoubt eastward to the water. And in the morning they received a reinforcement of five hundred men.

46. The temerity of the provincials astonished and incensed general Gage, and he determined to drive them immediately from their position. About noon, a body of three thousand regulars, commanded by general Howe, left Boston in boats and landed in Charlestown, at the extreme point of the peninsula. Generals Clinton and Burgoyne took their station on an eminence in Boston, commanding a distinct view of the hill. The spires of the churches, the roofs of the houses, and all the heights, in the neighborhood were covered with people, waiting, in dreadful anxiety, to witness the approaching battle.

37. The regulars, forming at the place of landing, marched slowly up the hill, halting frequently to allow

time to the artillery to demolish the works. While advancing, the village of Charlestown, containing about four hundred houses, was set on fire by order of general Gage. The flames ascended to a lofty height, presenting a sublime and magnificent spectacle. The Americans reserved their fire until the British were within ten rods of the redoubt; then, taking a steady aim, they began a furious discharge. Entire ranks of the assailants fell. The enemy halted and returned the fire; but that from the redoubt continuing incessant and doing great execution, they retreated in haste and disorder down the hill, some even taking refuge in their boats.

48. The officers were seen running hither and thither, collecting, arranging and addressing their men, who were at length induced again to ascend the hill. The Americans now reserved their fire until the enemy had approached even nearer than before, when a tremendous volley was at once poured upon them. Terrified by the carnage around them, they again retreated with precipitation, and such was the panic that general Howe was left almost alone on the hill side, his troops having deserted him and nearly every officer around him being killed.

49. At this moment, general Clinton, who had observed from Boston the progress of the battle, feeling that British honor was at stake, hastened with a reinforcement to the assistance of his countrymen. By his exertions, the troops were a third time rallied, and were compelled by the officers, who marched behind them with drawn swords, to advance again towards the Americans. The fire from the ships and batteries was redoubled, and a few pieces of cannon had been so placed as to rake the interior of the breastwork from end to end.

50. The provincials, having expended their ammunition, awaited in silence the approach of the regulars. The latter entered the redoubt. The former, having no bayonets, defended themselves, for a short time, with the butt end of their muskets. From this unequal contest they were soon compelled to retire. As they retreated over Charlestown Neck, the fire from the floating batteries was incessant; but, providentially, a few only were killed. The enemy had sustained too much injury to think of pursuit.

51. In this desperate and bloody conflict, the royal forces consisted, as has been stated, of three thousand men, and the provincials of but fifteen hundred. Of the former, one

thousand and fifty-four were killed and wounded; of the latter, four hundred and fifty-three. This disparity of loss, the steadiness and bravery displayed by their recent, undisciplined levies, occasioned among the Americans the highest exultation, and, in their view, more than counter balanced the loss of position. If this is a British victory, how many such victories, they triumphantly asked, can their army achieve without ruin?

52. But deep and heart-felt sorrow was intermingled with their rejoicings. Among the killed, was doctor Warren, a patriot, who, at an early period, had espoused with warmth the cause of freedom; who had displayed great intrepridity in several skirmishes; had four days before been elected major-general; and had, on the fatal day, hastened to the field of battle, to serve his country as a volunteer. For his many virtues, his elegant manners, his generous devotion to his country, his high attainments in political science, he was beloved and respected by his republican associates; and to him their affections pointed as a future leader, in a cause dear to their hearts, and intimately connected with their glory.

53. In the midst of these military transactions, a continental congress assembled at Philadelphia. It comprised delegates from twelve colonies, all of whom were animated with a determined spirit of opposition to parliamentary taxation. A majority, however, had not yet formed the hardy resolution to separate from the mother country, and aim at independence. The measures partook of the opposite feelings of the members. Mr. Hancock, the proscribed patriot, was chosen president; they resolved that another humble petition for redress of grievances, should be presented to the king; but they also resolved that means of defence should be immediately prepared, and proceeded to the choice of officers to command their united forces.

54. To induce the friends of liberty in the southern provinces, to embark more warmly in the cause of resistance, the northern delegates determined to give their suffrages, for a commander-in-chief, to a person residing in that quarter. Fortunately, one was found eminently qualified for the office. By unanimous vote of the congress, GEORGE WASHINGTON, then present as delegate from Virginia, was elected. He had served, with high reputation, in the late war with France; was distinguished in his native province for his military knowledge, his great wealth, the dignity of his deportment, his unsuspected

integrity, and his ardent attachment to the interests of his country.

55. The president addressing him in his seat, announced to him the choice which the congress had made. Washington declared his acceptance with a diffidence which gave to his great talents a brighter lustre; and assured congress that, as no pecuniary compensation could have tempted him to accept the office, at the sacrifice of his domestic ease and happiness, he would receive no pay, and would ask only the remuneration of his expenses. Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, were then chosen major-generals, and Horatio Gates adjutant-general. Lee had lately held the office of colonel, and Gates that of major, in the British army.

56. Congress also resolved that, for defraying the expenses which might be incurred, bills of credit, or paper money, to the amount of three millions of dollars, should be issued, and pledged the colonies for their redemption. A solemn and dignified declaration, setting forth the causes and necessity of taking up arms, was prepared to be published to the army in orders, and to the people from the pulpit. After particularizing the aggressions of Great Britain, with the energy of men feeling unmerited injury, they exclaim:

57. "But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared that parliament can of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever. What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it, was chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens, in proportion as it increases ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We, for ten years, incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language.

58. "We are now reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the will of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which

we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

59. "Our cause is just; our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great; and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as a signal instance of the divine favor towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed the means of defending ourselves.

60. "With hearts fortified by these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, DECLARE, that exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being, with one mind, resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves."

61. Soon after his election, general Washington, accompanied by general Lee, and several other gentlemen, set out for the camp at Cambridge. In every place through which he passed, he received the highest honors. A committee from the provincial congress of Massachusetts, met him at Springfield, and conducted him to head-quarters, where another committee presented him a respectful and affectionate address.

62. He found the army, consisting of fourteen thousand men, posted on the heights around Boston, forming a line which extended from Roxbury on the right, to the river Mystic on the left, a distance of twelve miles. The troops were ardently devoted to the cause of liberty, but destitute of discipline, averse to subordination, without powder, without tents, and without most of the conveniences usually provided for regular armies.

63. With the assistance of general Gates, he introduced some degree of regularity and system. Several barrels of powder were obtained from New-Jersey, and captain Manly, commander of the privateer Lee, captured an ordnance ship, containing arms, ammunition, and a complete assortment of such working tools as were most needed in the

American camp. This providential capture was followed by others which supplied the most pressing wants of the army, enabled it to continue, through the year, the blockade of Boston, and contributed greatly to distress the enemy, for whose use the cargoes were destined.

64. Events occuring this year, in the southern colonies, still farther weakened the attachment of the people to Great Britain. In Virginia, Lord Dunmore, the governor, seized by night, some powder belonging to the colony, and conveyed it on board a British ship in James river. Intelligence of this transaction reaching Patrick Henry, he placed himself at the head of the independent companies in his vicinity, and marched towards the seat of government, with the avowed purpose of obtaining, by force, restitution of the powder, or its value. He was met by a messenger, who paid him the value of the powder, when he and the militia returned to their homes.

65. Alarmed by this display of spirit and patriotism, lord Dunmore fortified his palace. From this castle, he issued a proclamation charging Henry and his associates with rebellious practices, which offended the people, who highly approved their conduct. Other causes increasing the popular ferment, he quitted his palace, and repaired to a ship of war then lying at Yorktown.

66. In November, he issued another proclamation, offering freedom to those slaves belonging to rebel masters, who should join his majesty's troops at Yorktown. Several hundred, in consequence, repaired to that place. A body of militia immediately assembled, and, while posted near the city, were attacked, with great bravery, by the regulars, royalists, and negroes. The militia, repelling the attack with equal bravery, gained a decisive victory. Lord Dunmore then evacuated the city, and, followed by his white and black forces, sought refuge on board the ships of his majesty. Soon after, Norfolk, set on fire by his order, was mostly consumed, and its destruction was completed by the provincials, to prevent the enemy from deriving supplies from that quarter.

67. The governor of North-Carolina, following the example of lord Dunmore, fortified his palace at Newbern. This caused a commotion among the people, which induced him to retire on board a ship in the harbor. While there, he made zealous exertions to organize a party in favor of the royal cause; and a band of Scotch Highlanders, settled in the interior country, listened to his persuasions. On

their march to the sea coast, they were met by a party of militia, who attacked and dispersed them. This early victory secured the predominance of the whigs, and crushed the hopes and spirits of the tories.

68. South-Carolina had always, with great unanimity and zeal, resisted parliamentary taxation; and soon after the battle of Lexington, the governor, lord William Campbell, apprehensive of danger to his person, retired from the province. In July, Georgia chose delegates to the continental congress, increasing to THIRTEEN the number of the UNITED COLONIES.

69. The province of New-York contained many warm advocates for freedom; but its capital had so long been the head-quarters of the British army in America, that many of the principal inhabitants, having contracted intimate relations with British officers, had become devoted to the royal cause. The assembly, acting under their influence, declined to choose delegates to the continental congress held in May, 1775; but the people, a majority of whom were actuated by different feelings, elected a provincial congress, by whom those delegates were chosen.

70. When intelligence of the battle of Lexington reached the city, captain Sears, an active and intrepid leader of the "sons of liberty," took effectual measures to prevent vessels bound to ports in America, where the royal cause prevailed, from sailing. An association was also formed, consisting of one thousand of the principal inhabitants, who bound themselves to assist in carrying into execution whatever measure might be recommended, by the continental congress, to prevent the execution of the oppressive acts of the British parliament.

71. The ministry, desirous of retaining in obedience this important colony, appointed Mr. Tryon, to be governor over it. He had before filled the same office; was a man of address, and greatly beloved by the people. He came fully empowered to gain adherents by dispensing promises and money at his discretion. The success of his intrigues alarmed congress, who, having particular reference to him, recommended that "all persons whose going at large might endanger the liberties of America, should be arrested and secured." Gaining early intelligence of this, he also sought refuge on board a ship in the harbor.

72. Although the autumn of 1775 was not distinguished by any brilliant exploit, yet the time of congress and of the commander-in-chief, was not unprofitably employed.

Constant attention was paid to the discipline of the troops; arrangements were made to obtain a supply of military stores; the building and equipment of a naval force was commenced; two expeditions were organized and despatched against Canada, one by the way of lake Champlain, the other of the river Kennebeck; and general Lee, with twelve hundred volunteers from Connecticut, was directed to proceed to New-York, and, with the aid of the inhabitants, fortify the city and the highlands.

73. The abolition of all legal authority in the colonies was an evil for which, though less than had been anticipated, it was yet expedient to provide a remedy. New-Hampshire applied to congress for advice on this subject. A favorable opportunity was thus presented to the zealous patriots in congress, to propose a remedy for the evil, which should, at the same time, exhibit in practice the fundamental principle of their political creed, that all legitimate authority must be derived from the people; and should also prepare the way for their darling object, a declaration of independence.

74. A resolution was introduced, recommending that a convention of representatives, freely elected by the people of that colony, should be called, for the purpose of establishing such a form of government as they might deem proper. It was warmly opposed by those members who were yet desirous of an accommodation with the mother country. An amendment being made, providing that the government established should continue in force no longer than the existing contest with Great Britain, the resolution passed. Representatives were accordingly chosen, who, on the 5th of January, 1776, adopted a written constitution, acknowledging no source of power but the people. In other colonies, the same course was soon afterwards pursued.

75. A transaction, displaying the vindictive feelings of the British, occurred in October. The ministry had issued orders to the officers of the navy to proceed, as in the case of actual rebellion, against all the colonial seaports accessible to ships of war, which should discover symptoms of attachment to the cause of liberty. Falmouth, a flourishing town in Massachusetts, having given some particular offence, its destruction, under color of these orders, was resolved on, and captain Mowatt, with four ships, was despatched on that service.

76. The citizens made an effort, by negotiation, to avert

their ruin; but as the terms which were offered could not be accepted without dishonor, they were at once rejected. The bombardment immediately commenced, the town was set on fire, and four hundred buildings reduced to ashes. This wanton act of devastation was strongly reprobated throughout America, and served to inflame, rather than to intimidate, the people. The town has since been rebuilt, its name changed to Portland, and it is now the capital of Maine.

77. As the year 1775 drew near to a close, the condition of the army, employed in the blockade of Boston, engaged the attention of congress. A speedy adjustment of the dispute being at first expected, the men had been enlisted to serve only until the first of January. No prospect now appeared of an immediate accommodation. It was therefore resolved to form a new army, to consist of twenty thousand men, and to be raised, as far as practicable, from the troops then in service. Unfortunately it was determined, that the enlistments should be made for one year only, an error the consequences of which were afterwards very severely felt.

78. It was supposed that most of those whom patriotism had impelled to join the army, would continue in the service of their country; but when the experiment was made, it was found that their ardor had considerably abated. The blockade of Boston presented no opportunity of acquiring glory, by deeds of noble daring; the fatiguing duties of the camp wore upon their spirits, affected their health, and produced an unconquerable longing to revisit their homes. Notwithstanding the great exertions of general Washington, no more than half the estimated number had been enlisted at the close of the year.

79. The people and the troops, supposing the army to be stronger than it was, expressed great dissatisfaction at the inactivity of the commander-in-chief, which some imputed to dishonorable motives. An attack upon Boston was loudly demanded. Washington three times proposed it to a council of war; but in every instance the decision was unanimous against it. At the last time, however, the council recommended that the town should be more closely invested. On the evening of the fourth of March 1776, the attention of the enemy being diverted, by a brisk cannonade, to a different quarter, a party of troops, under the command of general Thomas, took possession, in silence, of Dorchester heights, and with almost incredible

industry, erected, before morning, a line of fortifications which commanded the harbor and the town.

80. The view of these works, raised like an exhalation from the earth, excited the astonishment of general Howe, who, on the resignation of general Gage, had been appointed commander-in-chief. He saw that he must immediately dislodge the Americans or evacuate the town. The next day he ordered 3000 men to embark in boats and proceeded, by way of Castle Island, to attack the works on the heights. A furious storm dispersed them; the fortifications, in the mean time, were rendered too strong to be forced; and general Howe was compelled to seek safety in an immediate departure from Boston.

81. Of the determination of the enemy to evacuate the town, general Washington was soon apprized. The event being certain, he did not wish by an attack to hasten it, as the fortifications at New-York, to which place he presumed they would repair, were not in sufficient forwardness to protect it. The embarkation was made on the 17th of March; a few days after, the whole fleet set sail, and the American army hastened, by divisions, to New-York.

82. The acquisition of this important town occasioned great and general rejoicing. The thanks of congress were voted to general Washington and his troops, for their wise and spirited conduct, a medal of gold was ordered to be struck in commemoration of the event. The British fleet, instead of conveying the troops to New-York, steered for Halifax, having on board a large number of tories and their baggage.

CHAPTER XVII.

EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA.

It has been already stated, that two expeditions were despatched against Canada. The command of that, which was to proceed by way of lake Champlain, was given to general Schuyler of New-York. The number of troops to be employed was fixed at three thousand, and they were to be drawn from New-York and New-England. Governor Carleton, gaining intelligence of the project, despatched about eight hundred men to strengthen the works at St.

Johns, on the river Sorel, a position commanding the usual entrance into Canada.

2. Brigadier general Montgomery, a young officer of brilliant talents, and ambitious of glory, was ordered to proceed in advance, with the troops, then in readiness, and attack this important position, before it had been made too strong to be taken. When commencing his career, the glory and fate of Wolfe were present to his thoughts, and to his wife his parting words were, "you shall never blush for your Montgomery." General Schuyler soon followed, and on arriving at Isle aux Noix, in the vicinity of the British works, he addressed a proclamation to the Canadians, exhorting them to join their brethren in the cause of freedom, and declaring that the American army came as friends of the inhabitants, and as enemies only of the British garrisons.

3. The fortifications at St. Johns being found stronger than was anticipated, general Schuyler returned to Albany to hasten the departure of the remaining troops, artillery, and munitions of war. He was prevented, by a severe illness, from again joining the army, and the chief command devolved upon Montgomery. On receiving a reinforcement, he invested St. Johns: but being yet almost destitute of battering cannon and of powder, he made no progress in the siege. And the soldiers, carrying with them into the field that attachment to liberty and equality which gave birth to the contest, displayed such utter aversion to discipline and subordination as increased, in a great degree, his difficulties and vexations.

4. Colonel Allen, the hero of Ticonderoga, had a command under Montgomery. Having been despatched, with major Brown, into the interior of Canada, he was, on his return, persuaded by the latter to undertake the rash project of attacking Montreal. He divided his detachment, consisting of less than three hundred men, into two parties, intending to assail the city at opposite points. Major Brown was prevented from executing his part of the enterprise. Colonel Allen and his small party, opposed by the whole force of the enemy under governor Carleton, fought with desperate valor. Many were killed; the survivers, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to surrender. The governor, viewing Allen, not as the intrepid soldier, but as a factious rebel, loaded him with irons and sent him to England for trial.

5. On the 18th of October, a fortunate event brightened the prospects of the Americans. Fort Chamblee, situated several miles north of St. Johns, was supposed to be beyond their reach, and was but slightly guarded. A detachment under majors Brown and Livingston, attacking it unexpectedly, gained possession of it with little loss. Several pieces of cannon, and 120 barrels of powder, were the fruits of the victory. The Americans, encouraged by success, immediately, in defiance of the continual fire of the enemy, erected a battery near fort St. Johns, and made preparations for a severe cannonade, and an assault, if necessary.

6. At this juncture, Montgomery received intelligence of an action between governor Carleton and a body of Green Mountain boys commanded by colonel Warner. The former, elated by his victory over Allen, collected about eight hundred regulars, militia, and Indians, with the view of raising the siege of St. Johns. In full confidence of success, they left Montreal, embarked in boats, and proceeded towards the southern shore of the St. Lawrence. In the bushes at the water's edge colonel Warner, having received information of their purpose, concealed three hundred men, who, when the enemy approached the shore, poured upon them a fire so unexpected and destructive, that the flotilla returned, in confusion, to Montreal.

7. On the first of November, Montgomery commenced a heavy cannonade of the enemy's works, which was continued through the day. In the evening, he sent to the British commander, by one of governor Carleton's men, who had been made prisoner by colonel Warner, intelligence of the governor's defeat, and demanded the surrender of the fort. It was accordingly surrendered, and the next morning entered by the American troops.

8. Montgomery hastened to Montreal, and, at the same time, despatched down the Sorel, the mouth of which is below that city, a naval force to prevent the escape of the British to Quebec. Governor Carleton, believing the city not tenable, quitted it in the night, and, in a boat with muffled oars, was conveyed through the American squadron. The next day, general Montgomery entered the city, and although no terms were granted to the inhabitants, he treated them with the kindness of a fellow citizen, declaring that the property, rights, and religion of every individual should be sacredly respected.

9. By his benevolence and address, he gained the affec-

tions of the Canadians, many of whom joined his standard. More, however, of his own troops, whose term of enlistment had expired, insisted on returning to their homes. So dear to them were the delights of the domestic fireside, and so vividly were they recalled to memory by the severe duties of the campaign, that the high character of the commander, his address, his entreaties, availed nothing to induce them to proceed on the expedition. With the remnant of his army, consisting of no more than three hundred men, he began his march towards Quebec, expecting to meet there another body of troops sent to act in concert with him.

10. These troops were a detachment from the army before Boston, consisting of one thousand men, and commanded by colonel Arnold; who, as a soldier, was adventurous, impetuous, and fearless; as a man, overbearing, avaricious, and profligate. Their route lay along the coast to the mouth of the Kennebec, in Maine, thence up that river to its source, and thence, over lofty mountains, through a wilderness unexplored by civilized man, to the river St. Lawrence. They were unable to begin their march before the middle of September; on the 22d, they embarked in boats, at Gardner, on the Kennebec, and proceeded to ascend that river.

11. They found the current rapid, and the navigation interrupted by frequent cataracts. Around these they were obliged to draw, by hand, their provisions, arms, and even their boats. Nor was their route on land less difficult. They had deep swamps to pass, and craggy mountains to ascend. The toil was so incessant, and the fatigue so great, that many, falling sick, were sent back, and along with these the rear division, commanded by colonel Enos, returned without the knowledge of Arnold.

12. Before they reached the height of land, provisions became scarce. Dogs, cartridge-boxes, and shoes were eaten. At the summit, the whole stock was divided equally among them, each receiving but two quarts of flour as his portion. The order of march was no longer observed. The soldiers were directed to proceed, singly or by companies, as they might choose, slowly or with speed, as they were able, to the nearest Canadian settlement, then one hundred miles distant. When the company, whose superior strength enabled them to keep in advance, were thirty miles from any human habitation, the last morsel of food had been consumed.

13. In this extremity, Arnold, with a few of the most

vigorous, made a forced march to the first village, and returned to his almost famished companions, with food sufficient to satisfy the first wants of nature. Refreshed and strengthened, they hastened forward, and, on the fourth of November, arrived at the French settlements on the Chaudiere, having been thirty-two days without seeing the abodes of civilized man; and having, in that time, performed a march unexampled for its temerity and hardship.

14. The inhabitants welcomed them with cordial hospitality. Though separated, in a great measure, from the world, they had heard of the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies, and as the very name of liberty is dear to the heart of man, their sympathies were all enlisted on the side of the latter. Arnold distributed proclamations among them similar to those issued by general Schuyler. As soon as the scattered soldiers were assembled, he continued his march, and, on the ninth of November, arrived at Point Levi, opposite Quebec.

15. Nothing could exceed the surprise and astonishment of the citizens on seeing a body of hostile troops, emerging from the southern wilderness. Had Arnold, at this moment of panic, been able to cross the river, the city must have fallen an easy conquest; but boats were not at hand, and a furious storm, occurring at the time, rendered crossing impossible.

16. Having procured boats, and the storm having abated, he crossed the river on the night of the 13th, and landed near the place where Wolfe had landed in the preceding war. Mounting the same steep ascent, he formed his troops on the plains of Abraham, and marched towards the city. Convinced, by a cannonade from the walls, that the garrison were ready to receive him, he returned, encamped on the plain, and on the 18th marched to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles from Quebec, where he determined to await the arrival of Montgomery.

17. He came on the first of December. How great was the joy, and how lively the gratulations, they only can imagine, who, after long absence and suffering, have met, in a foreign land, their friends and former companions. Arnold's troops had, indeed, great cause of rejoicing. They were entirely destitute of winter clothing, and had endured extreme distress from the severity of the cold. Montgomery had brought a supply from Montreal, which he immediately distributed among them.

18. Their united force amounted to no more than nine

hundred effective men. On the fifth, the general, at the head of these, appeared before the city, and sent a flag with a summons to surrender. The delay which had taken place, had enabled governor Carleton to increase the strength of the works, and to change the sentiments of the citizens from friendship for the Americans, to hostility. He ordered his troops to fire upon the bearer of the flag.

19. Montgomery soon discovered the defection of his friends, and perceived that he must depend upon his own force alone for the accomplishment of his object. When he compared this force with that of the enemy, who were fifteen hundred strong; when he reflected that his troops were recent levies whose term was nearly expired, and whose thoughts were fixed upon their homes, his hopes of success became faint, and his forebodings gloomy. He believed, however, that success was possible, and his high sense of honor and of duty impelled him to hazard every thing to obtain it for his country.

20. He at first determined to batter the walls, and harass the city, by repeated and furious attacks, hoping that an opportunity might occur of striking some decisive blow. He raised a mound, composed of snow and water, which soon became ice, and there planted his cannons, six only in number. After a short trial, they were found inadequate, and this plan was abandoned.

21. Meanwhile, the snow fell incessantly, the cold became intense, and the sufferings of the troops, from the rigor of the season and their continual toil, surpassed all that they had ever before felt, or witnessed, or imagined. To increase their distress, the small pox broke out in the camp, presenting death in a new shape, and adding to the severity of their labors, by lessening the number to bear them. In the midst of these trials, their attachment to the cause, and devotion to their commander remained unabated; but these, he reflected, must soon give way before such severe and constant suffering; and for himself, he determined to make immediately a bold and desperate effort.

22. Assembling his officers, he proposed to storm the city. He placed before them the motives which operated upon his own mind. He did not deny that the enterprise was highly difficult and dangerous, but maintained that success was possible. He addressed a band of heroes whose sentiments were congenial with his own, and the decision was unanimous in favor of his proposition. The

plan and time of attack were concerted, and to each officer was assigned his particular duty.

23. On the last day of December, at four o'clock in the morning, while a violent snow storm was raging, the troops marched from the camp in four columns, commanded by Montgomery, Arnold, Livingston, and Brown. The two latter were directed to make feigned attacks upon the upper town, in order to distract the attention of the garrison; while the two former proceeded to assault the lower town at opposite points.

24. Livingston and Brown, impeded by the snow, did not arrive in season to execute their feints. Montgomery, advancing, at the head of his column, along the bank of the river, came to a barrier or stockade of strong posts. Two of these he sawed off with his own hands. The guard within were alarmed, and fled to a block-house, fifty yards distant, where several pieces of cannon were stationed. He passed through the opening in the barrier, encouraging his men to follow. The troops at the block-house, to whom the guard had communicated their terror, began to desert it.

25. At this moment, Montgomery halted, to allow the troops near him to form in a body. Observing this delay, a Canadian, who lingered behind, returned to the block-house, seized a match which was burning, and discharged a cannon loaded with grape shot, and fortuitously pointed at the little band. The discharge was instantly fatal to Montgomery, and to several favorite officers standing around him. The men, seeing their beloved leader fall, shrunk back; colonel Campbell, the next in command, ordered a retreat, and that portion of the garrison stationed at the block-house, was left at liberty to hasten to another part of the city, already in commotion from the attack of Arnold.

26. This officer, marching, like Montgomery, at the head of his column, had entered the town. Advancing along a narrow street, which was swept by the grape shot of the enemy, he received a severe wound in the leg, and was carried to the hospital. Captain Morgan, afterwards distinguished by his exploits at the south, assumed the command. Placing himself at the head of two companies, he boldly approached the enemy's works, and entering through the embrasures, drove the men from their guns.

27. Here he halted until the rear of the column came up. When time was given for reflection, the danger of

their situation, a small band in the heart of a hostile city, filled even the bosoms of the brave with dread. Morgan retained his firmness; and when the morning dawned, with a voice that resounded through the city, summoned his troops to the assault of a second battery, a short distance in advance of the first.

28. Before this, a fierce combat ensued. Many of the enemy were killed, but more Americans, who were exposed to a destructive fire of musketry from the windows of the houses. Some of the most daring mounted the wall, but, seeing, on the other side, two ranks of soldiers, with their muskets on the ground, presenting hedges of bayonets to receive them, should they leap forward, they recoiled and descended.

29. Weary with exertion, and benumbed with cold; exposed to a deadly fire from every quarter; their arms rendered useless by the snow which continued to fall, the soldiers sought refuge in the houses. Perceiving that all farther attempts would be vain, Morgan gave the signal of retreat. Some of the men fled, but most were unwilling to encounter another tempest of shot. They refused, however, to yield, until assured of the fate of Montgomery; when, loosing all hope of success and escape, they surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

30. The loss of the Americans, in this desperate enterprise, was above four hundred, of whom one hundred and fifty were killed. The whole continent bewailed the death of Montgomery. He was conspicuous, even in those times of enthusiasm, for his ardent devotion to the cause of freedom. He was endeared to the good, by the exercise, in the midst of war, of the most amiable virtues. His soldiers adored him for his lofty spirit and daring bravery. The enemy respected him for his honorable conduct, and distinguished military qualities. Until his last enterprise, continual success bore testimony to the greatness of his talents; and defeat, when he was no more, confirmed the testimony of success. Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to perpetuate his fame. It lives yet fresh in the memory of Americans. In 1818, New-York, his adopted state, removed his remains from Quebec to her own metropolis, where the monument had been placed, and near that they repose.

31. Some of the Americans, on their escape from Quebec, retreated precipitately to Montreal. Arnold, with difficulty, detained about four hundred, who, breaking up

their camp, retired three miles from the city. Here this heroic band, though much inferior in number to the garrison, kept it in continual awe, and, by preventing all communication with the country, reduced it to great distress for the want of provisions.

32. Congress, on receiving information of the disaster of the 31st of December, directed reinforcements to be sent to Canada; and after the beginning of March, Arnold's party was almost daily augmented by the arrival of small bodies of troops. But its strength did not increase with its numbers. The small-pox still continued its ravages; fatigue, without hope, depressed the spirits of the soldiers; the difficulty of obtaining provisions became every day greater; and the harsh measures adopted by Arnold to procure them, exasperated the inhabitants around him.

33. On the first of May, general Thomas, who had been appointed to succeed Montgomery, arrived from the camp at Roxbury. On reviewing his army, he found it to consist of less than two thousand men, of whom half were not fit for duty. A council of war was held, who resolved that it was expedient to take a more defensible position higher up the St. Lawrence. To this decision they were led by the knowledge that the ice was leaving the river, and by the expectation that reinforcements from England would immediately come up. The next morning, in fact, while the Americans were engaged in removing the sick, several ships appeared in sight, and entered the harbor. A multitude of troops were immediately poured into the city.

34. At one o'clock, Carleton made a sortie at the head of a thousand men. Against these, general Thomas, at that moment, could oppose but three hundred. All the stores, and many of the sick, fell into the power of the enemy. The latter were treated, by the governor, with great tenderness; and when restored to health, were assisted to return to their homes. The Americans retreated to the mouth of the Sorel, where they were joined by several regiments, and where their worthy commander died of the small-pox, which yet prevailed in the camp.

35. While patriotism and valor were, in this quarter, unsuccessfully contending with a superior force, the Americans sustained a heavy and unexpected calamity, resulting from cowardice, in another. At a fortified place, called the Cedars, forty miles above Montreal, colonel Bedell was stationed with four hundred men, and two pieces of cannon. Assembling a force of six hundred,

mostly Indian warriors, captain Foster, who commanded at Oswegatchie, descended the river to attack this post.

36. Colonel Bedell, leaving major Butterfield in command, repaired to Montreal to obtain assistance. Shortly afterwards, captain Foster appeared, and invested the fort. He had no artillery, and in the course of two days, but one man was wounded. More efficient than his arms, was the intimation, that if any of the Indians should be killed, it would not be in his power to restrain them from the massacre of the garrison. Intimidated by this, major Butterfield surrendered his whole party prisoners of war, stipulating only for their baggage and their lives.

37. Upon the representation of colonel Bedell, a reinforcement was ordered to march from Montreal; but he declined returning with it, and the command was given to major Sherburne. The day after the surrender of the fort, of which event the major was ignorant, and about four miles from it, he was met by a large body of Indians, to whom, after an obstinate and bloody conflict, he was obliged to surrender. The whole loss of the Americans was at least five hundred.

38. General Sullivan was appointed to succeed general Thomas, and on the first of June, arrived at the river Sorel, where he found between four and five thousand men. But the army of the enemy had, in the mean time, been augmented to thirteen thousand. Commanding a force so decidedly superior, governor Carleton pressed forward in pursuit, and the Americans retreated slowly and reluctantly before him. At St. Johns, the pursuit ceased; but general Sullivan, in obedience to orders from general Schuyler, continued his march to Crown Point, at the head of Lake Champlain.

39. Thus terminated the expedition against Canada. In its conception it was singularly bold and romantic. In its progress were displayed fortitude and bravery seldom equalled in military annals. Its failure was a painful disappointment to the patriots of the day. It is now consoling to reflect, that success would probably have proved injurious to the cause of independence. To protect the province, the military force of the confederacy must have been too much extended, and colonies more important have been left defenceless.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1776.

The last humble petition of congress to the king was presented by Mr. Penn, the late governor of Pennsylvania. A few days afterwards, he was told by the minister that no answer would be made to it. The haughty spirit, which dictated this reply, pervaded both houses of parliament.

2. In December, a law was passed amounting to a declaration of war against the colonies. Treaties were made with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel and other German princes, hiring of them seventeen thousand men, to be employed against the Americans; and it was determined to send over, in addition to these, twenty-five thousand English troops.

3. In the beginning of the year 1776, a fleet under Sir Peter Parker, and two thousand five hundred troops commanded by earl Cornwallis, were despatched upon an expedition against the southern colonies. Soon after, admiral Hotham set sail with a large number of transports, carrying the first division of Hessians; and, in May, followed admiral lord Howe, who had been appointed commander of the naval force on the American station. He, and his brother, general Howe, had also been appointed joint commissioners to grant pardons on submission.

4. On the first of May, the fleet, under Sir Peter Parker, arrived on the coast of North-Carolina, where Sir Henry Clinton, arriving at the same time from New-York, took command of the troops. The late defeat of the highland emigrants had so dispirited the loyalists in this colony, that he determined to proceed farther south, and attack Charleston, the capital of South-Carolina.

5. Fortunately, an official letter, announcing the speedy departure of the expedition from England, had been intercepted early in the spring, and time was thus given to place this city in a state of defence. A strong fort was built on Sullivan's island, a position from which ships, on entering the harbor, could be greatly annoyed; the streets, in different places, were strongly barricaded; the stores on the wharves, though of great value, were pulled down, and lines of defence erected along the water's edge.

6. On learning the near approach of the enemy, the

militia of the country were summoned to defend the capital. They obeyed with alacrity, increasing to five or six thousand the number of troops. General Lee had been sent from New-York to take the chief command; and his high military reputation gave confidence to the soldiers and inhabitants. Under him were colonels Gadsden, Moultrie, and Thompson.

7. In the morning of the 28th of June, nine ships of war, carrying two hundred and fifty guns, began a furious attack upon the fort on the island, which was garrisoned by about four hundred men, under the command of colonel Moultrie. At the same time, a detachment of troops was landed on an adjoining island, and directed to cross over, at a place where the sea was supposed to be shallow, and attack it in the rear.

8. The heavy and incessant fire of the enemy was received with coolness, and returned with skill. Many of their ships suffered severely, and particularly the Bristol, on board of which was commodore Parker. She was twice in flames, her captain was killed, and so dreadful was the slaughter, that, at one time, the commodore was the only person upon deck unhurt.

9. In the midst of the action, general Lee visited the garrison. He was delighted with the enthusiasm they exhibited. Nothing seemed capable of quenching their ardor. Soldiers, mortally wounded, exhorted their comrades never to abandon the standard of liberty. "I die," said sergeant M'Donald, in his last moments, "for a glorious cause; but I hope it will not expire with me."

10. The British troops, destined to attack the fort in the rear, found it impossible to reach the island. The engagement with the fleet continued until dark. The ships, having received too much injury to renew it, moved off in the night; and a few days afterwards, the fleet, with the troops on board, set sail for New-York, where the whole British force had been ordered to assemble.

11. The killed and wounded on the part of the enemy, amounted to near two hundred. Of the Americans, ten were killed, and twenty-two wounded. The troops, for their gallantry, received the thanks of congress, and high and well merited praise from their countrymen. Their success was auspicious to the cause of freedom. In a part of the country where resistance by force had been but little contemplated, it aroused the people to exertion, and inspired them with confidence.

12. Notwithstanding the active war carried on, the colonies still professed allegiance to the British king; and protested that the sole object of all their measures, was a redress of grievances. In the beginning of the contest, these professions, in most instances, were sincere; but a state of hostility produced a rapid change of sentiment. In place of attachment to monarchy and to Great Britain, succeeded devotion to republican principles, and wishes for independence.

13. The temporary constitutions adopted by New-Hampshire, and several other colonies, had shown with what facility all bonds of connection with the mother country could be dissolved. Essays in the newspapers, and pamphlets industriously circulated, appealing to the the reason and to the passions of the people, enforced the necessity and policy of a separation. Resistance, it was observed, had been carried too far to allow the hope that cordial harmony could ever be restored; submission on any terms, to irritated masters, would be totally unsafe; and the alternative was presented of rising to the honorable rank of an independent nation, or sinking into a state of vassalage which every future year would render more oppressive and degrading.

14. A pamphlet, entitled "Common Sense," and written by Thomas Paine, an Englishman, was universally read, and most highly admired. In language plain, forcible, and singularly well fitted to operate on the public mind, he portrayed the excellencies of republican institutions, and attacked, with happy and successful ridicule, the principles of hereditary government. The effect of the pamphlet, in making converts, was astonishing, and is probably without precedent in the annals of literature.

15. As a step preparatory to independence, congress, on the 15th of May, recommended to those colonies that had not yet adopted constitutions, to establish, without any limitation of time, "such governments as might best conduce to the happiness and safety of the people." The recommendation was generally complied with, and in every instance the government was not only entirely elective, but elective at such short periods as to impress upon rulers their immediate accountableness to the people, and upon the people a just opinion of their own importance, and a conviction of their safety from misrule.

16. The colonies had become accustomed to contemplate themselves as sovereign states; and the governments of

many expressed their desire that congress would declare them such to the world. On the 7th of June, a resolution to that effect was proposed, in that body, by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts. While under consideration, the colonies, which had not expressed their approbation of the measure, declared their concurrence. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Sherman, and Livingston, were instructed to prepare a Declaration of Independence, which, on the fourth of July, a memorable day, was almost unanimously adopted.

17. "We hold these truths," says this celebrated state paper, "to be self evident, that all mankind are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

18. To justify the exercise, on the present occasion, of the right here asserted, a long enumeration is made of the injuries inflicted upon the colonies, by the king of Great Britain, which is closed by declaring that "a prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

19. The appeals which had been made to the people of Great Britain, are also recounted; "but they too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce to the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

20. "We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority, of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of

Great Britain is, and of right ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

21. This declaration was communicated to the army, and received with enthusiastic plaudits. A great majority of the people welcomed it with joy, which was displayed, in almost every city, by extraordinary public festivities. Those who had been denominated tories, were averse to a separation. Many joined the royal armies, and exhibited, during the war, the most cruel hostility against the whigs, their countrymen.

22. During the spring and summer, unremitted exertions were made to fortify the city of New-York, against which, it was supposed, the whole strength of the enemy would be next directed. In this crisis the people of that state acted with spirit and firmness. One fourth of the militia of the counties contiguous to the city, were called into the public service. Yet the means, in the power of the commander-in-chief, were not adequate to the emergency. He had under his command but fourteen thousand effective men; and was almost destitute of many articles which impart strength as well as comfort to an army. As it was in the power of the enemy to choose their point of attack, this force was necessarily divided. A part were stationed in the city, a part at Brooklyn, on Long Island, and small detachments at various other posts.

23. In the beginning of July, admiral and general Howe arrived in the harbor of New-York. They were accompanied by a powerful naval force, and by an army of twenty-four thousand men, abundantly supplied with military stores. The troops were landed on Staten Island, a position from which ulterior movements could most conveniently be made.

24. General Washington, presuming that the first attack would be made upon the posts at Brooklyn, strengthened it by a detachment of troops from the city, and gave the command of it to general Putnam. On the 22d of August, the British forces were landed on the opposite side of Long Island. The two armies were now about four miles asunder, and were separated by a range of hills, over which

passed three main roads. Various circumstances led general Putnam to suspect that the enemy intended to approach him by the road leading to his right, which he therefore guarded with most care.

25. Very early in the morning of the 26th, his suspicions were strengthened by the approach, upon that road, of a column of British troops, and upon the centre road, of a column of Hessians. To oppose these, the American troops were mostly drawn from their camp, and in the engagements which took place, evinced considerable bravery.

26. These movements of the enemy were but feints to divert the attention of Putnam from the road which led to his left, along which general Clinton was silently advancing with the main body of the British army. The report of cannon in that direction gave the first intimation of the danger which was approaching. The Americans endeavored to escape it, by returning, with the utmost celerity, to their camp. They were not able to arrive there in time, but were intercepted by general Clinton, who drove them back upon the Hessians.

27. Attacked thus in front and rear, they fought a succession of skirmishes, in the course of which many were killed, many made prisoners, and several parties, seizing favorable opportunities, forced their way through the enemy, and regained the camp. A bold and vigorous charge, made by the American general, lord Sterling, at the head of a Maryland regiment, enabled a large body to escape in this manner. This regiment, fighting with desperate bravery, kept a force greatly superior engaged, until their comrades had passed by, when the few who survived, ceasing to resist, surrendered to the enemy.

28. The loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, considerably exceeded a thousand. Among the latter were generals Sullivan, Sterling, and Woodhull. The total loss of the enemy was less than four hundred. They encamped at night before the American lines; and the next day began to erect batteries within six hundred yards of their left.

29. While the battle was raging, general Washington passed over to Brooklyn, where he witnessed, with inexpressible anguish, the destruction of his best troops, from which, such was the superiority of the enemy, it was impossible to save them. Finding the men dispirited by defeat, he determined to remove them to the city. The retreat was effected, on the night of the 28th, with such

silence and despatch, that before the suspicions of the enemy were excited, the last division of boats was beyond the reach of their fire.

30. So disheartened were the militia, that they deserted by companies; and even the regular troops were infected by their example. Near the middle of September, the commander-in-chief, fearing to be enclosed in the city, retired to the heights of Haerlem. The enemy immediately took possession. A few days afterwards, a fire broke out which consumed about a thousand houses.

31. General Washington, after reflecting upon the events which had already occurred; after considering the inexperience of his troops, the condition of the country, and the distance of the enemy from their resources, determined to adopt a cautious system of warfare; to risk at present no general engagement; to harrass and wear out the enemy by keeping them in continual motion; and to inspire his own troops with courage, by engaging them in skirmishes, in all cases where success was probable. In one, fought on the 6th of September, the brave colonel Knowlton was killed; but the result was so decidedly favorable to the Americans, that the troops recovered their spirits; and the general was confirmed in the system he had adopted.

32. The movements of the enemy, in the beginning of October, indicated an intention of gaining the rear of the Americans, and cutting off their communication with the eastern states. The army, therefore, quitting Haerlem, moved northward towards White Plains. General Howe pursued, making several attempts to bring on a general engagement, which Washington avoided by skilful changes of position. A partial action was fought, on the 28th of October, in which the loss on both sides was nearly equal.

33. Finding his antagonist too cautious to be drawn into the open field, and too strong to be attacked in his entrenchments, general Howe determined to return towards New-York, and attack forts Washington and Lee, situated opposite to each other on the banks of the Hudson, and about ten miles above the city. In these forts, garrisons had been left, from a wish to preserve the command of this important river. That in fort Washington, consisting in part of militia, amounted to two thousand seven hundred men, under colonel Magaw.

34. On the 16th of November, four divisions of the

enemy's army, led by their principal officers, attacked it in four different quarters. The garrison, and particularly the riflemen under colonel Rawlings, fought bravely. The Germans were several times driven back, with great loss. But these combined and vigorous attacks were at length successful. The ammunition in the fort being nearly exhausted, and all the out posts driven in, the commander, on being a second time summoned, agreed to capitulate, on honorable terms. This was the severest blow the Americans had yet felt. The loss of the enemy, however, in killed and wounded, was supposed to be twelve hundred men.

35. Fort Lee was immediately evacuated, the garrison joining general Washington. He had previously, with one division of his army, crossed over into New-Jersey, leaving the other, under the command of general Lee, in New-York. His force, even when augmented by the garrison, consisted of but three thousand effective men, and they were destitute of tents, of blankets, and even of utensils to cook their provisions. His first station was Newark; but the enemy pursuing him, he was compelled to retreat successively to Brunswick, to Princeton, to Trenton, and finally to cross the Delaware into Pennsylvania; and so close was the pursuit, that the advance of the British army was often in sight.

36. Small as was his force when the retreat began, it diminished daily. On the last of November, many of his troops were entitled to their discharge, and not one of them could be persuaded to continue another day in service. Such he feared would be the conduct of the remainder, whose time would expire at the end of the year. In this extremity, he urged general Lee to hasten to his assistance; but that officer, having other purposes in view, delayed his march. He called on the militia of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, but none obeyed his call. The population around him were hostile or desponding, and withheld all aid from an army whose career seemed near its termination.

37. In this darkest hour in American history, general Howe issued a proclamation offering pardon to all who would declare their submission to royal authority. The contrast between a ragged, suffering, retreating army, and a full-clad, powerful, exulting foe, induced many, despairing of success, to abandon the cause they had espoused, and accept of pardon. Among them were Mr. Galloway,

and Mr. Allen, who had been members of the continental congress.

38. As the British army approached Philadelphia, congress adjourned to Baltimore, having previously invested general Washington with "full power to order and direct all things relative to the department, and to the operations of war." Such unlimited authority could not have been placed in hands more worthy to hold it. To the elastic energy of his mind, and his perfect self-possession in the most desperate circumstances, is America, in a great degree, indebted for her independence.

39. On the day that he was driven over the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island. On the 13th of December, general Lee, having wandered from his army, was surprised and taken prisoner. In the experience and talents of this officer, the people reposed great confidence, and they lamented his loss like that of an army. In its consequences, his capture was fortunate. The command of his division devolved upon general Sullivan, who conducted it promptly to general Washington, augmenting his army to nearly seven thousand effective men.

40. Still so much stronger were the enemy, that they regarded the rebels, for so they delighted to call the patriots of that day, as almost subdued, and doubted not that a vigorous attempt, whenever they should be disposed to make it, would place in their power the handful of men before them. They rioted upon the plunder of the country, and enjoyed in prospect the fruits of an assured and decisive victory.

41. Washington saw that this tide of ill fortune must be stemmed—must even be rolled back upon the enemy—or it would soon overwhelm his country. He resolved to hazard all that was left in one vigorous effort for victory. On the night of the 25th December, at the head of two thousand four hundred men, he crossed the Delaware at Trenton, surprised a body of Hessians stationed at that place, took nine hundred prisoners, and immediately recrossed, having lost but nine of his men.

42. This sudden and severe blow awakened the enemy to activity. Cornwallis, who had repaired to New-York, intrusting to his inferior officers the task of finishing the war, returned, with additional troops, to regain the ground that had been lost. He concentrated his forces at Princeton; and soon after, Washington, having been joined by a body of Pennsylvania militia, and persuaded the New-

England troops to serve six weeks longer, again crossed the Delaware and took post at Trenton.

43. On the 2d of January, 1777, the greater part of the British army marched to attack the Americans. In the evening they encamped near Trenton, in full, expectation of a battle and victory in the morning. Washington, sensible of the inferiority of his force; sensible too that flight would be almost as fatal as defeat, conceived another bold project which he resolved instantly to execute.

44. About midnight, having renewed his fires, he silently decamped, and gaining, by a circuitous route, the rear of the enemy, marched towards Princeton, where he presumed Cornwallis had left a part of his troops. At sunrise, the van of the American forces met unexpectedly two British regiments. A sharp action ensued; the former gave way. At this crisis, when all was at stake, the commander-in-chief led the main body to the attack. The enemy were routed and fled. Fortunately the heroic Washington, though exposed to both fires, and but a few yards distant from either party, escaped unhurt.

45. Instead of pursuing them, he pressed forward to Princeton, where one regiment yet remained. Part saved themselves by a precipitate flight; about three hundred were made prisoners. The British loss in killed was upwards of one hundred; the American was less, but in the number were the brave general Mercer, and several valuable officers. Among the wounded was lieutenant James Monroe, afterwards raised to the highest office in the gift of his fellow citizens.

46. In consternation, the British army immediately evacuated Trenton, and retreated to New-Brunswick. The inhabitants, resuming their courage, and giving full force to their rage, which fear had smothered, took revenge for the brutalities they had suffered. The enemy were driven from all their posts in New-Jersey, except Amboy and Brunswick, and the American army obtained secure winter quarters at Morristown.

47. The brilliant victories at Trenton and Princeton raised, from the lowest depression, the spirits of the American people. They regarded Washington as the savior of his country. He became the theme of eulogy throughout Europe. And having displayed, as occasions demanded, the opposite qualities of caution and impetuosity, he received the honorable and appropriate appellation of the American Fabius.

CHAPTER XIX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1777.

The firmness manifested by congress, when disaster and defeat had almost annihilated the American army, entitles the members to the gratitude and admiration of every friend of freedom. They exhibited no symptom of terror or dismay. They voted to raise an army to take the place of that which was to be disbanded at the end of the year; and, made sensible by experience, that short enlistments had been the cause of most of the misfortunes of their country, they resolved that the new levies should be enlisted to serve three years or during the war, at the option of the individual recruits. To defray expenses, they made large emissions of paper money. And to evince their firm determination to the world, they solemnly declared that they would listen to no terms of peace which required a relinquishment of their independence, or which should deprive other nations of a free trade to their ports.

2. Relying on the inveterate enmity of France against Great Britain, they sent commissioners to that court, with instructions to solicit a loan of money, a supply of munitions of war, and an acknowledgement of the independence of the United States. These commissioners were Dr. Franklin, Silas Dean, and Arthur Lee. Franklin arrived at Paris in December. The cause of which he was the advocate, and his own great fame as a philosopher, procured him a flattering reception from all ranks of people. America, her minister, her struggle against oppression, became the themes of popular discourse, and the government itself was rendered in secret propitious to her cause.

3. The ministry permitted arms, covertly taken from the public arsenals, to be conveyed to the United States. They connived at the sale, in their West India islands, and even in the ports of France, of the prizes taken by American privateers. The value of these prizes made in the year 1776, was computed at five millions of dollars, and far exceeded that of the captures made by the enemy.

4. So popular was the cause of the United States, and so exalted the character of their military leader, that many French officers sought an opportunity of engaging

in their service. Among these, the young Marquis de la Fayette was most conspicuous for his rank, and most distinguished for his ardor and enthusiasm. At an early period, he communicated to the American agents his wish to join the republican armies. At first, they encouraged his zeal, but learning the disasters which preceeded the victory at Trenton, they, with honorable frankness, communicated the information to him, and added that they were so destitute of funds, that they could not even provide for his passage across the ocean.

5. "If your country," replied the gallant youth, "is indeed reduced to this extremity, it is at this moment that my departure to join her armies will render her the most essential service." He immediately hired a vessel to convey him to America, where he arrived in the spring of 1777. He was received with cordial affection by the people, became the bosom friend of Washington, solicited permission to serve without pay, and was appointed major-general in the army.

6. In the last campaign, more prisoners had been taken by the British than by the Americans. They were detained at New-York, and were confined in churches and prison ships, where they endured the extremity of wretchedness. They were exposed, without fire and almost without clothes, to the inclemency of a severe winter; were often whole days without food, and when food was offered, it was but a miserable pittance, damaged and loathsome. Many died of hunger, and more of diseases, produced by their complicated sufferings.

7. Washington remonstrated with warmth, and threatened retaliation. After his victories in New-Jersey, their treatment was less inhuman. An exchange was agreed upon, but many, when attempting to walk from their places of confinement to the vessels provided to convey them away, fell and expired in the streets. Yet in the midst of these unparalleled sufferings, they had exhibited fortitude more rare, and more honorable to human nature, than the highest display of valor in battle. To entice them to enlist in the royal army, they were promised relief from misery, and the enjoyment of abundance. They rejected the offer with disdain; thus giving to the world the noblest proof of the absence of all mercenary motive, and of the sincerity and fervor of their devotion to their country.

8. Near the end of May, the American army, which

had been augmented by recruits to almost ten thousand men, moved from Morristown, and took a strong position at Middlebrook. The British, soon after, left their encampment, and general Howe endeavored, by various movements, to induce general Washington to quit his strong hold and meet him on equal ground. But the latter, adhering to his Fabian system of warfare, determined to remain in the position he had chosen.

9. General Howe, changing his purpose, transported his army to Staten Island. He there embarked sixteen thousand troops on board a large fleet, and, leaving Sir Henry Clinton in command at New-York, put out to sea on the 26th of July. His destination was carefully kept secret. On the 20th of August, the fleet entered Chesapeake bay, and rendered it certain that an attack upon Philadelphia was intended. The troops were landed at Elk ferry, in Maryland, fifty miles south of that city.

10. The American army immediately crossed the Delaware, and, passing through Philadelphia, directed its march towards the enemy. The people, weary of delays and indecisive movements, demanded that a general engagement should be hazarded for the defence of the metropolis. Washington, yielding to their wishes, took a position on the eastern bank of Brandywine creek, and in the direction of the enemy's route.

11. On the eleventh of September, the British army appeared, and, crossing the creek at several fords, commenced an attack upon the American right, which, after a short resistance, gave way. The other divisions, successively attacked, gave way in like manner, and the rout becoming general, a retreat was ordered to Chester.

12. Several portions of the American army, particularly a brigade from Virginia, exhibited in this battle great firmness and bravery. The misconduct of others rendered their bravery unavailing. The American loss amounted to twelve hundred; the British to no more than half that number. The Marquis de la Fayette took part in the engagement and was wounded. The next day, the army retired to Philadelphia, and soon after to Reading, where a quantity of stores had been deposited. The retreat was performed without a murmur, although many marched without shoes, and slept on the ground without blankets. On the 26th of September, general Howe entered Philadelphia in triumph, congress having previously removed to Lancaster.

13. The transactions of the contending armies at the the north, since the termination of the expedition to Canada, now demand our attention. The Americans halted at Crown Point, the British at St. Johns, and both employed the remainder of the summer in building vessels and making preparations to secure the command of Lake Champlain.

14. On the 11th of October, 1776, the American and British squadrons met, colonel Arnold, who had been a sailor in his youth, commanding the former. After a short contest, the enemy, not being then able to bring their whole force into action, retired. The next day, they returned to the combat, and being greatly superior, drove the American squadron before them, to the head of the lake. A sharp action then took place; the officers and men fought gallantly, but Arnold losing a part of his force, and perceiving defeat to be inevitable, ran the remainder of his vessels on shore and set them on fire.

15. Winter approaching, governor Carleton returned with his troops to Canada. General Burgoyne, who had served under him during the last campaign, made a voyage to England to concert a plan for future operations. It was determined that a powerful army, departing from Montreal, should proceed, by way of Lake Champlain, to the Hudson, with the view of obtaining, by the co-operation of the army at New-York, the entire command of that river. All communication between the states of New-England, and the others lying south of them, would thus be prevented. Either section, alone and unsupported, could, it was supposed, be easily subdued; and the whole strength of the nation might then be directed against the other.

16. Nothing was omitted which might insure the success of this project. Seven thousand choice troops, to be sent from England, were allotted to the service. They were supplied with an excellent train of brass artillery, and with every thing which could add to their efficiency as an army. The command was given to Burgoyne, and several officers of distinguished reputation were selected to serve under him.

17. General Schuyler, of New-York, a worthy officer, whose talents were solid but not brilliant, had the chief command of the northern department. He was indefatigable in making preparations for defence; and such was his zeal in the cause of independence, and such his deserved popularity in his native state, that he doubtless accomplished more than any other person could have done.

Still, at a late period in the spring, the fortifications were incomplete, and but few troops or munitions of war were collected.

18. Very early in the season, Burgoyne arrived at Quebec. He immediately despatched colonel St. Leger with a party of regulars, tories, and Indians, by the way of the St. Lawrence to Oswego, directing him to proceed thence to the Mohawk, and join him at Albany. With the main army, augmented, in Canada, to ten thousand men, he hastened to Ticonderoga, before which he appeared on the first of July. On his way, he held a conference, at the river Bouquet, with a large number of savages, whom British agents had persuaded to join the army.

19. The garrison of Ticonderoga, which was then commanded by general St. Clair, was insufficient to defend it against so powerful a force. It was evacuated in the night of the 5th, the troops crossing Lake Champlain and retreating towards Castleton, in Vermont. The enemy pursued, and on the morning of the 7th, their van overtook and attacked the American rear, under colonels Francis and Warner. The action was warm and well contested; but other troops arriving to the aid of the British, the Americans were compelled to give way.

20. The retreat now became precipitate and disorderly; the pursuit rapid and persevering. At length, the republican army, diminished in number, exhausted by fatigue, and dispirited by misfortunes, arrived, by various routes, at fort Edward, on the Hudson, the head-quarters of general Schuyler. These disastrous events spread terror and dismay throughout the land. The people, ignorant of the weakness of the army, attributed its retreat to cowardice or treachery, and trembled at the dangers which menaced them from the British, Germans, and savages.

21. The royal forces, elated by success, proceeded through the wilderness towards fort Edward. Their progress was slow and toilsome. General Schuyler, on their approach, evacuated the fort, and retired across the Hudson to Saratoga. Soon after, he descended the river to Stillwater; and, the British continuing to advance, he retreated, on the 14th of August, to the islands at the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson, a few miles north of Troy. About the same time, intelligence was received, that St. Leger, having penetrated from Oswego to the Mohawk, had laid siege to fort Schuyler, situated in the present township of Rome.

22. The American general, before leaving fort Edward, issued a proclamation calling to his aid the militia of New-England and New-York. Aroused by the danger multitudes obeyed his call. Vermont poured forth her daring Green-Mountain boys; the other states of New-England their hardy yeomanry, ardent in the cause of freedom; New-York, her valiant sons, indignant at this invasion of her territory, and determined to protect their property from pillage and destruction. These beset the invaders on every side, impeding their progress, cutting off their supplies, and fatiguing them by incessant attacks.

23. Burgoyne, finding it difficult to transport his provisions through the wilderness, despatched colonel Baum, with five hundred Hessians, to seize a quantity of beef and flour which the Americans had collected and deposited at Bennington. Fortunately, general Stark, at the head of a party of New-Hampshire militia, had just arrived at that place, on his way to the main army, and been joined by volunteers from the immediate neighbourhood. Baum, ascertaining their number to be greater than his own, halted near Bennington, erected breastworks, and sent back for a reinforcement.

24. In several skirmishes between small detachments, the militia were uniformly successful. This sharpening their courage, Stark resolved to attack the main body. On the 16th of August, a fierce and sanguinary battle took place. For two hours, the Hessians fought bravely, but their works, assaulted by braver troops, were at length entered, and most of the detachment either killed or made prisoners.

25. Just after this action had terminated, colonel Breyman arrived with the reinforcement sent to Baum. The militia, apprehending no danger, had dispersed in pursuit of plunder or the fugitives. By carelessness was nearly lost all that by valor had been gained. Happily, at this critical juncture, colonel Warner arrived from Manchester with a continental regiment, and immediately fell upon Breyman, The militia, rallying, hastened to his aid. The battle continued until sunset, when the enemy retreated, and under cover of the night the greater part effected their escape.

26. The tide of fortune was now turned. The decisive victory at Bennington diffused confidence and joy. The friends of independence, before depressed by disaster and defeat, were now animated by the prospect, which sud-

denly burst upon them, of a glorious victory over an arrogant and once dreaded enemy. The greatest zeal and activity were every where displayed. Again crowds of militia flocked to the republican camp.

27. In a few days, cheering intelligence arrived from fort Schuyler. The garrison under colonels Gansevoort and Willet, had, in the midst of the most discouraging circumstances, made a gallant defence against the forces of St. Leger. General Herkimer, marching with eight hundred militia to their relief, fell into an ambuscade, was defeated and slain; but a larger party was speedily collected and immediately despatched, under general Arnold, upon the same service.

28. The Indians, alarmed by their approach, and fatigued and disgusted by the protracted labors of the siege, threatened to abandon St. Leger, if he would not reliquish his enterprise. He reluctantly consented, and with the loss of his baggage and stores retreated to Montreal. Burgoyne was thus deprived of his expected co-operation, and the militia of that part of the states were enabled to join the American army.

29. The disasters which befell this army at the commencement of the campaign induced congress to recall the generals who commanded it, and to appoint, in their places, generals Gates, Lincoln, and Arnold. Having the control of more abundant and powerful means, they acted with more energy and boldness. Gates, leaving the encampment on the islands, to which Schuyler had retreated, advanced, in the beginning of September, to the neighborhood of Stillwater.

30. Burgoyne, after the defeat of Baum, was obliged to have recourse, for provisions, to the magazines at fort George. The laborious task of transporting them through the wilderness to the Hudson being accomplished, he moved forward, and on the 17th of September, encamped within four miles of the American army.

31. The next day, the first battle of Stillwater was fought. It was begun by skirmishes between the scouting parties of the two armies, which were respectively and repeatedly reinforced, until nearly the whole of each was engaged. Both fought with determined resolution; they alternately drove and were driven by each other. A continual blaze of fire was kept up. Men, and particularly officers, dropped every moment and on every side. Night put an end to the conflict.

32. The American army retired to their camp; the British lay on their arms near the field of battle. The loss of the former was three hundred and nineteen; that of the latter exceeded five hundred. Each claimed the victory; the consequences of defeat were felt by the British alone. Their hopes of success were diminished, their Indian allies, the Canadians, and tories, were disheartened and deserted them.

33. Pressed on all sides, Burgoyne made frequent and urgent applications to Sir Henry Clinton, at New-York, for aid, and informed him that, in expectation of such aid, he would maintain his present position until the 12th of October. He diminished the allowance of provisions to his soldiers, and having waited until the 7th, without receiving any intelligence from Clinton, determined to make another trial of strength with his adversary.

34. He made dispositions to commence the action with the right wing of his army; Gates, discovering his design, made a sudden and vigorous attack upon the left. In a short time, the whole of both armies were engaged. This battle was furious, obstinate, and more bloody than the other. Arnold was eminently distinguished for his bravery and rashness. Towards night, the enemy, who had fought with desperate valor, gave way. A part of their works were stormed and taken, and more than two hundred men made prisoners.

35. Darkness put an end to this action also. The Americans lay upon their arms near the enemy's lines, intending to renew the battle the next day; but Burgoyne, during the night, withdrew to a stronger position. Gates forbore to pursue, believing that a bloodless victory was now in his power.

36. In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton despatched general Vaughan with three thousand men, to endeavor to relieve Burgoyne. He ascended the Hudson, and on the sixth of October, assaulted and took fort Montgomery; but instead of hastening forward, he consumed a whole week in pillaging and burning Esopus, and other flourishing villages on the river. He perhaps expected that this wanton destruction of property would draw off a part of the forces under Gates; but it had no other effect than to exasperate the inhabitants.

37. Burgoyne, perceiving that his antagonist was endeavoring to surround him, retreated to the heights of Saratoga. The Americans pursued, keeping a sufficient

force on the east bank of the river to prevent him from crossing. The situation of the British troops was now distressing in the extreme. Many of their most valued officers had been killed. Their strength was exhausted by incessant exertion; they were almost encircled by their enemy, and were greatly annoyed by a continual and destructive cannonade. From this forlorn condition but one mode of escape remained, a forced march in the night to fort George. This expedient was resolved on, and preparations were made; but the scouts sent out returned with intelligence that all the passes were guarded by strong bodies of militia.

38. An account of provisions was then taken, and a supply for no more than three days was found on hand. No hope of rescue within that time could be indulged. Burgoyne summoned his principal officers to a council. It is said that while deliberating, a cannon ball crossed the table around which they sat. By their unanimous advice, he opened a negotiation with the American general, and on the 17th of October, surrendered his whole army prisoners of war.

39. Great were the rejoicings occasioned by this glorious victory. Many supposed that it would terminate the contest. In the joy of success, all feelings of resentment were forgotten. From regard to the feelings of the vanquished, general Gates, while they were piling their arms, kept the victorious troops within his camp. The British officers, in social converse with the Americans, were led to forget their misfortune, and the troops, when on their march to Massachusetts, did not receive from the people that vindictive treatment which their distressing depredations, and those of their fellow soldiers under Vaughan, would have excused, if not justified.

40. Against this band of marauders, general Gates marched soon after the capitulation was signed; but on learning the fate of Burgoyne, they retired to New-York. About the same time, the garrison left at Ticonderoga, having rendered their cannon useless, returned to Canada, and the northern department was restored to perfect tranquility.

41. While the exertions of the northern army were rewarded by brilliant success, that of the south, equally brave and meritorious, but enfeebled by the detachments which Washington generously spared to Gates, sustained distressing reverses. The greatest was at Germantown,

in the vicinity of Philadelphia, where the main body of the enemy was stationed.

42. Upon this body, at sunrise, on the 4th of October, the American general made a bold and vigorous attack. So sudden and spirited was the onset, that the enemy, unable to sustain it, fled, and a complete victory appeared in prospect. But six British companies, while retreating, threw themselves into a large stone house, from which, in entire safety, they poured a destructive fire upon the American troops. The pursuit was arrested, and much time consumed in a vain attempt to demolish this fortress.

43. The fugitives rallied, and turned upon the assailants. Confusion followed, and a thick fog, which that moment arose, increased it. The different divisions, ignorant of the positions and success of the others, uncertain even as to their own, acted with indecision and timidity. A retreat was therefore directed, and the troops withdrew in good order.

44. In this action, in which fortune snatched victory from the grasp of the Americans, they sustained a loss of twelve hundred men; that of the British was less than six hundred. But the vanquished sustained no loss of reputation nor confidence. Their country applauded the boldness of the attempt, and the enemy felt higher respect for their courage and discipline.

45. The British army soon after left Germantown, and marched to attack the American posts on the river Delaware below Philadelphia. On the 22d of October, a body of twelve hundred Hessians, commanded by count Donop, made an intrepid assault upon the fortifications at Red Bank. They were repulsed with great loss, and their gallant leader killed.

46. Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, was next attacked. For six days it was bravely defended. It was then evacuated, the works having been almost demolished by the enemy's artillery. Preparations being made for a second assault, with a much larger force, upon the post at Red Bank, that was also evacuated, and thus was opened a free communication between the British army and their fleet, which had sailed round to the mouth of the Delaware.

47. After several movements of the respective armies, which had no important result, general Washington withdrew to winter quarters in the woods of Valley Forge. His troops were destitute of shoes, and might have been tracked by the blood of their feet. They passed the

winter in huts, suffered extreme distress from want of clothing and of food, but endured their privations without a murmur. How strong must have been their love of liberty? With what lively gratitude ought a prosperous country, indebted to them for the most valuable blessings, to remember their sufferings and services?

CHAPTER XX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1778.

While the American armies were contending in the field, or suffering in the camp, congress were occupied in the performance of duties important to the cause of independence. At first, this body possessed no powers, but such as were conferred by the credentials and instructions given, by the state legislatures, to their respective delegates. Early in 1776, a confederation of the states was proposed; but until the 15th of November, 1777, all the obstacles to the measure could not be surmounted.

2. The "Articles of Confederation" then adopted by Congress, and subsequently ratified by the several assemblies, bound the states in a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence and the security of their liberties. Delegates were to be annually appointed, who, when assembled in congress, were authorized to carry on war, to make peace, and to exercise the powers of sovereignty in relation to foreign nations. They were also authorized to determine the number of men, and the amount of money to be raised, and to assign to each state its just proportion.

3. But so unwilling were the states to relinquish their recently assumed independence, that they withheld from congress the authority to make laws which should operate directly upon the people; and reserved to themselves the sole right of raising their proportions of money in such manner as each might deem most expedient.

4. Congress also effected a thorough reform of the commissary department, in which scandalous frauds had been committed. And in order to introduce a uniform system of tactics and discipline, they resolved that an inspector-general should be appointed. Subsequently they elected to that office the baron Steuben, a native of Prussia, who

had served in a high station in the army of Frederic the great, and was well versed in the system of manœuvres introduced by that celebrated commander.

5. The signal victory at Saratoga exalted the reputation of the confederated states, in every part of Europe. The French ministry no longer hesitated to acknowledge their independence. On the 6th of February, they concluded, with the American commissioners, treaties of commerce and of alliance, in which they generously assented to terms highly advantageous to the states. This event, so flattering to the hopes and the pride of the people, occasioned the liveliest joy, and the most ardent gratitude to France.

6. Among the people of Great Britain, the defeat of their favorite general produced astonishment, dismay, and indignation. The most brilliant success was anticipated; the most ignominious result had occurred. The pride of the nation was humbled, and they who had disapproved of the war, poured upon the ministry a torrent of invective. To increase the bitterness of their chagrin, they soon learned the course which their hereditary enemy and rival had resolved to pursue.

7. It was now determined in the cabinet, to grant to America all that she had demanded, in the beginning of the contest. An act was passed, declaring that parliament would not, in future, impose any tax upon the colonies; and commissioners were sent over, authorized to proclaim a repeal of all the offensive statutes, and to treat with the constituted authorities of America.

8. The commissioners, arriving at Philadelphia in the spring, communicated to congress the terms offered by Great Britain, which were at once unanimously rejected. Failing in the use of direct and honorable means, they attempted bribery and corruption. To Joseph Reed, a general in the army and a member of congress, an offer was made of ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office within his majesty's gift in the colonies, if he would endeavor to effect a reunion of the two countries. "I am not worth purchasing," he nobly replied, "but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it."

9. On receiving official notification of the treaties concluded with her revolted colonies, Great Britain declared war against France; and the ministry, presuming that assistance would be sent them, transmitted orders by the commissioners, that Philadelphia should be evacuated,

and the royal troops concentrated at New-York. The execution of these orders devolved upon Sir Henry Clinton, who, general Howe having resigned, had been appointed commander-in-chief. On the 18th of June, the enemy quitted the city, and marched slowly eastward.

10. Washington, leaving his huts in the forest, hung upon the rear of the British army, watching for a favorable opportunity to offer battle. On arriving at Monmouth, in New-Jersey, general Lee, who had lately been exchanged, was ordered to take the command of five thousand men, and, early in the morning of the 28th, unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary, to commence an attack. He was assured, that the residue of the army should follow and give him support.

11. Lee made dispositions to attack accordingly, but perceiving the main body of the enemy returning to meet him, he retreated. Washington, advancing to render the promised support, saw him retiring, rode forward and addressed him in language implying disapprobation of his conduct. He then directed him to form his men, on ground which he pointed out, and there oppose the progress of the enemy.

12. These orders were executed with firmness. A warm engagement ensued, and Lee, when forced from the ground, brought off his troops in good order. Washington, at this moment, arrived with the main body of his army, which joined in the action, and compelled the enemy to fall back to the position from which Lee had been driven.

13. The day had been intensely hot; it was now almost dark, and the troops were much fatigued. Further operations were therefore deferred until the next morning. In the night, Sir Henry Clinton silently left his position, and continued his march to New-York. His loss amounted to near five hundred men; that of the Americans to three hundred. Heat and excessive fatigue proved fatal to many.

14. Lee, irritable and proud, could not forget the manner in which Washington had addressed him; and in two passionate letters, demanded reparation. A court martial was instituted; he was found guilty of misconduct on the day of battle, and of disrespect to the commander-in-chief, and was suspended from command for one year. He never afterwards joined the army, but died in seclusion just before the close of the war.

15. The enemy having entered New-York, Washington

conducted his army to White Plains. Congress returned to Philidelphia; and in July received, with inexpressible joy, a letter from the count d' Estaing, announcing his arrival on the coast of the United States, with a large fleet, which had been sent, by the king of France, to assist them in their struggle for independence.

16. The count intended to surprise admiral Howe in the Delaware, but adverse winds detained him on the passage, until the British fleet had sailed for New-York. He appeared before that harbor, but on sounding found that his largest ships could not enter it. A combined attack, by land and water, upon the British forces at Newport, in Rhode Island, was then projected.

17. General Sullivan, who had been appointed to command the troops, called upon the militia of New-England to aid him in the enterprise. His army soon amounted to ten thousand men, and, as he was supported by the fleet, he felt confident of success. On the ninth of August, he took a position on the north end of Rhode Island, and afterwards moved nearer to Newport. Admiral Howe, having received a reinforcement, now appeared before the harbor, and the count instantly put to sea to attack him.

18. While making the preparatory manœuvres, a furious storm came on, which damaged and dispersed both fleets. As soon as the weather would permit, each commander sought the port from which he had sailed. The army, intent upon their own object, witnessed with joy the return of the French fleet; and great was their disappointment when the count announced his intention of proceeding to Boston to refit. The American officers remonstrated, but he was inflexible and departed.

19. The army, deserted by the fleet, could remain no longer, with safety, on the island, as the enemy might easily transport, by water, large reinforcements from New-York to Newport. General Sullivan immediately retreated to his first position. He was pursued, and shortly after halting, was attacked by the enemy. They were gallantly resisted and repulsed with loss.

20. The next day, the two armies cannonaded each other, and the succeeding night the American general, deceiving the enemy by a show of resistance to the last, made a skilful retreat to the continent. A few hours afterwards, the British received such an augmentation of their force, that all resistance, on the part of the Ameri-

cans, would have been vain. At the close of the season, the French fleet sailed to the West Indies.

21. During this year, the British troops and their allies displayed, in several instances, a degree of barbarity seldom equalled in contests between civilized nations. That they were contending against revolted subjects, seemed to release them, in their view, from all regard to the common usages of war. The late alliance with France, the hated rival of their nation, increased their hostility. Instead of striving to conquer an honorable foe, they thirsted as for vengeance on a criminal and outlaw.

22. With such vindictive feelings, Wyoming, a happy and flourishing settlement in Pennsylvania, was attacked by a band of tories and Indians. The men were butchered, the houses burned, and the cattle driven off or killed. Those who had been made widows and orphans were left without shelter and without food. Seldom has war spread distress and ruin over a more delightful region. New-Bedford, Martha's Vineyard, Eggharbor, and Cheryvalley, were also visited and ravaged by the enemy. All the property within reach was destroyed, and multitudes of peaceful and unoffending inhabitants were reduced to poverty and wretchedness.

23. But in no instance did the enemy evince more ferocious, unrelenting cruelty than in their attack upon colonel Baylor's troop of light dragoons. While asleep in a barn at Tappan, they were surprised by a party under general Grey, who commanded his soldiers to use the bayonet only, and to give the rebels no quarter. Incapable of defence, they sued for mercy. But the most pathetic supplications were heard without awakening compassion in the commander. Nearly one half of the troop were killed. To many, repeated thrusts were barbarously given as long as signs of life remained. Several who had nine, ten, and eleven stabs through the body, and were left for dead, afterwards recovered. A few escaped, and forty were saved by the humanity of a British captain, who dared to disobey the orders of his general.

24. Late in the fall, the army under Washington erected huts near Middlebrook, in New-Jersey, in which they passed the winter. In this campaign, but little on either side was accomplished. The alliance with France gave birth to expectations which events did not fulfil; yet the presence of her fleets on the coast deranged the plans of the enemy, and induced them to relinquish a part of their

conquests. At the close of the year, it was apparent that Great Britain had made no progress in the accomplishment of her purposes.

CHAPTER XXI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1779.

THE campaign of 1779, was distinguished by a change of the theatre of war, from the northern to the southern section of the confederacy. Thither the enemy were invited by the prospect of easier victory. The country was rendered weak by its scattered population, by the multitude of slaves, and by the number of tories intermingled with the whigs.

2. Near the close of the preceding year, lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with 2500 men, sailed from New-York to the coast of Georgia, and landed his troops. Marching towards Savannah, the capital, he met on his route a small body of Americans, whom he defeated, and immediately took possession of the city. A detachment from Florida under general Prevost invested Sunbury, which, after the fall of the capital, surrendered at discretion. These were the only military posts in Georgia. All the troops that could escape retreated into South-Carolina.

3. Soon after the conquest of Georgia, general Lincoln took command of the American troops in the southern department. In April, leaving South-Carolina, he marched into the interior of Georgia; upon which the British army, entering the state he had left, invested Charleston, the capital. Lincoln hastened back to its defence. On hearing of his approach, the enemy retired to Stono ferry. Thither Lincoln pursued them. An indecisive action was fought; and a few days afterwards, they continued their retreat to Savannah.

4. The heat of the season suspended farther operations until September. Count d'Estaing, with a fleet carrying 6000 troops, then arrived on the coast. The two armies, in concert, laid siege to Savannah. At the expiration of a month, the count, impatient of delay, insisted that the siege should be abandoned, or that a combined assault upon the enemy's works should immediately be made. General Lincoln determined upon an assault. Great

gallantry was displayed by the French and American, but greater by the British troops. They repulsed the assailants, killing and wounding nearly a thousand men, and sustaining, on their part, but little loss. The count Pulaski, a celebrated Polish nobleman, in the service of the states, was mortally wounded. The next day the siege was raised, the French returning home, and the Americans to South-Carolina.

5. In the midst of these events, general Matthews, sailing from New-York, conducted an expedition against Virginia. On the 10th of May, he took possession of Portsmouth, without opposition, and ravaged, for two weeks, that city and the adjacent country. The booty obtained, and the property destroyed, were of immense value. Before the expiration of May, the party returned to New-York.

6. Early in the season, colonel Clarke, of Virginia, who was stationed at Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi, achieved an enterprise conspicuous for boldness of design, and evincing uncommon hardihood in its execution. With only one hundred and thirty men, he penetrated through the wilderness, to St. Vincents, a British post on the Wabash, in the heart of the Indian country. His route lay across deep swamps and morasses. For four or five miles the party waded through water, often as high as the breast. After a march of sixteen days, they reached the town, which, having no intimation of their approach, surrendered without resistance. A short time after, the fort capitulated. This fortunate achievement arrested an expedition which the enemy had projected against the frontiers of Virginia, and detached several tribes of Indians from the British interest.

7. The atrocities committed at Wyoming, and at several settlements in New-York, cried aloud for vengeance. Congress, assembling an army of 4000 men, gave the command of it to general Sullivan, and directed him to conduct it into the country inhabited by the savages, and retort upon them their own system of warfare. Of this army, one division marched from the Mohawk, the other from Wyoming, and both forming a junction on the Susquehannah, proceeded, on the 22d of August, towards the Seneca lake.

8. On an advantageous position, the Indians, in conjunction with 200 tories, had erected fortifications to oppose their progress. These were assaulted; the enemy

after a slight resistance, gave way, and disappeared in the woods. As the army advanced into the western part of the state of New-York, that region now so fertile and populous, the Indians deserted their towns, the appearance of which denoted a higher state of civilization than had ever before been witnessed in the North American wilderness. The houses were commodious; the apple and peach-trees numerous, and the crops of corn then growing abundant. All were destroyed; not a vestige of human industry was permitted to exist.

9. Having accomplished this work of vengeance, severe but deserved, and essential to the future safety of the whites, general Sullivan returned to Easton, in Pennsylvania, where he arrived about the middle of October. His whole loss, by sickness and the enemy, amounted to but forty men.

10. On the first of July, general Tryon sailed from New-York with a large body of troops, and landing on the coast of Connecticut, plundered New-Haven, and laid Fairfield and Norwalk in ashes. Before his return, general Wayne, with a detachment from the American army, made a daring assault upon Stoney Point, a strongly fortified post on the Hudson. About twelve at night, the troops, with unloaded muskets, arrived before the lines. They were received with a tremendous discharge of grape-shot and musketry. Rushing forward, they mounted the walls, and using the bayonet only, were soon in complete possession of the fort.

11. A more gallant exploit has seldom been performed; and the humanity of the victors was equal to their valor. Notwithstanding the devastations in Connecticut, and the butchery of Baylor's troop, the scene of which was near, not an individual suffered after resistance had ceased. Of the enemy, sixty were killed, and upwards of five hundred made prisoners. The loss of the Americans was comparatively small. A gold medal, presented by congress, rewarded the heroism of the victor.

12. In September, a bloody naval battle was fought, near the coast of Scotland, in which John Paul Jones acquired the reputation of a daring and fortunate commander. He was a Scotchman by birth, but had been appointed, by the American congress, a captain in their navy, and then commanded a squadron fitted out in the ports of France. At half past seven in the evening, his own ship, the Bon homme Richard, of 40 guns, engaged the Serapis, a British frigate of 44. After the action had continued

an hour, the two frigates approached so near to each other that Jones, seizing the opportunity, lashed them together.

13. The battle now became furious, and the carnage horrible. The Serapis was on fire not less than ten times; and often both frigates were on fire at the same moment, presenting a sublime and dreadful spectacle. At length, the Alliance, one of Jones' squadron, came to his assistance; but the two frigates being fastened together, many of her shot struck the Bon homme Richard. At ten o'clock, the Serapis surrendered. Her successful antagonist was so shattered, that the crew were obliged to leave her immediately, and she soon after sunk. The Pallas, which was also one of Jones' squadron, engaged at the same time and captured the Countess of Scarborough. The squadron with the prizes then sailed for Holland, and arrived there in safety.

14. At the close of the season, the northern army retired into winter-quarters, one division near Morristown, in New-Jersey, and the other in the vicinity of West Point, an important post in the highlands. Here they endured severe and constant suffering from cold, and nakedness, and hunger. Sometimes half the usual allowance, often less, was distributed to the troops; and more than once the provisions were wholly exhausted.

15. Application for relief was made to the magistrates of the neighborhood, and intimations were given that provisions, so pressing were the wants of the army, would be seized by force, if not furnished voluntarily. The magistrates promptly attended to the call. They levied contributions arbitrarily from the people, who submitted to these exactions with a degree of patriotism equalled only by that displayed by the soldiers in the patient endurance of distress.

16. Derangement in the finances produced these sufferings. Large sums had been annually raised and expended; and the ability of the people to pay taxes had progressively decreased. To supply deficiencies, paper money, to the amount of about one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, had been issued. This gradually depreciated, and, at the close of 1779, thirty dollars in paper were of no more value than one in specie. To purchase provisions with this money was at first difficult, and then impossible; and congress now found their funds and their credit exhausted.

17. A change of system was necessary. For the supply of the army, each state was directed to furnish a certain

quantity of provisions and forage. Loans were solicited from the people, and nearly a million of dollars was raised by bills drawn upon the American agents in Europe, in anticipation of loans which they had been authorized to procure. These expedients afforded but temporary and partial relief.

18. No class of persons suffered more from the depreciation of paper money than the army, and especially the officers. The pay, even of those of the highest grade, was rendered insufficient to provide them with necessary clothing. Discontent began to pervade the whole army. It required all the enthusiastic patriotism which distinguishes the soldier of principle; all that ardent attachment to freedom which brought them into the field; all the influence of the commander-in-chief, whom they almost adored, to retain in the service men who felt themselves cruelly neglected by the country whose battles they fought.

CHAPTER XXII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1780.

The first military operations of the enemy, in the year 1780, were directed against Charleston, the capital of South-Carolina. In the beginning of February, Sir Henry Clinton appeared before that place, at the head of a part of his army. The assembly, which was then sitting, delegated to governor Rutledge, a patriot of splendid talents, and to his council, "the power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen," and adjourned. Armed with this extraordinary power, he made great exertions to call into action the strength of the state, and to place its capital in a posture of defence.

2. The people of the country disregarded his repeated calls. Not more than two hundred repaired to Charleston. The garrison, commanded by general Lincoln, consisted of a body of militia from the country, of the citizens, of one thousand North-Carolina militia, and of two thousand regulars. The number of the enemy, when all their reinforcements had arrived, amounted to nine thousand.

3. On the 1st of April, the siege was begun in form, by the erection of works at the distance of eleven hundred

yards from the city. On the 9th, the fleet, propelled by a strong wind, passed the forts on Sullivan's Island, without stopping to return their fire, and gained entire command of the harbor. On the 14th, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton surprised a body of cavalry, which, to preserve a communication with the country, had been stationed at Monk's corner. Soon after, batteries were erected nearer the city, from which the fire was incessant and destructive.

4. An offer to capitulate was then made; but the British commander refused to accept the terms proposed. On his part, terms were offered, which were rejected by general Lincoln. The siege was then pressed with increased vigor, and approaches made to within musket-shot of the American lines. The soldiers within were often killed at their guns by the enemy's marksmen.

5. The citizens, whose intercession had induced general Lincoln to determine to defend the place, perceiving that preparations for an assault were in forwardness, and seeing no hope of relief or escape, now requested him to accept the terms which Sir Henry Clinton had proposed. A negotiation between the two commanders was, in consequence, opened, and on the 12th of May, the capitulation was signed.

6. The capital having surrendered, measures were adopted to overawe the inhabitants of the country, and induce them to return to their allegiance to the king. Garrisons were placed in different parts of the state, and 2000 men were despatched towards North-Carolina, to repel several parties of militia, who were hastening to the relief of Charleston. Colonel Tarleton, making a rapid march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, met, at the Waxhaws, and attacked one of these parties, commanded by colonel Buford. His force being superior was soon victorious. The vanquished, ceasing to resist, implored for quarter. Their cries were disregarded. Upwards of two hundred and fifty were killed, or too badly wounded to be removed from the field. This barbarous massacre spread dismay throughout the country, and gave a sanguinary character to future conflicts.

7. To avoid being treated as enemies, the greater part of the inhabitants either gave their parole as prisoners, or submitted to become subjects of the king. Sir Henry Clinton, afterwards, by proclamation, discharged the former from their parole and called upon all to embody

as militia in the service of Great Britain. Indignant at this dishonorable conduct, which left them only the alternative of fighting for or against their country, multitudes, seizing their arms, resolved on a vindictive war with their invaders.

8. A party, who had taken refuge in North-Carolina, chose colonel Sumpter their leader. At the head of these, he returned to his own state, attacked and defeated several scattered detachments from the British army. In one engagement, so decisive was his victory, that nine only out of nearly three hundred escaped. By a succession of gallant enterprises, he reanimated the friends of freedom, and a spirit of determined hostility to Great Britain was again manifested in every part of the state.

9. This spirit was cherished by the approach, from the north, of 4000 men, principally continentals, under the command of general Gates. On their march through a sterile country, they endured all the evils and distresses of extreme famine. Lord Cornwallis, whom Clinton, on his return to New-York, had left commander-in-chief, hastened to oppose, in person, this victorious general. He placed himself at the head of two thousand veteran troops who had before been stationed at Camden, on the northern border of the state.

10. On the night of the 15th of August, he marched, with his whole force, to attack the Americans in their camp at Clermont. They, at the same hour, began to move towards Camden. The advanced parties met in the night and engaged. In several skirmishes which took place, the British obtained the advantage. This made a deep impression on the militia, whose spirits were depressed by gloomy forebodings.

11. When the morning dawned, the enemy advanced to the attack. At the first onset, the Virginia militia fled from the field, and their example was followed by others. The continentals, though left alone to contend with superior numbers, maintained the conflict with great firmness. For a short time, they had the advantage of their opponents, but were at length overpowered, and the flight became general.

12. The fugitives were pursued by Tarleton's legion with relentless fury. When all were killed, captured or dispersed, the pursuers, with speed unchecked, took the route towards Sumpter's encampment. This active partizan, who had lately been victorious in a skirmish, retreat-

ed precipitately, on hearing of the defeat of Gates. At the Catawba ford, supposing he was beyond danger, he halted, that his troops, who were fatigued, might repose. His sentinels slept at their posts, and the legion rode into his camp before preparations could be made for defence. Between three and four hundred were killed or wounded. The remainder were dispersed in the woods; three hundred prisoners were released; all the baggage and stores fell into the power of the victor.

13. Again supposing the state to be subdued, Cornwallis adopted measures of extreme severity to suppress every latent inclination to revolt. He directed that all who, having once submitted, had lately given aid to the armies of congress, should be deprived of their property and imprisoned; and that all, who had once borne arms with the British, and afterwards joined the Americans, should suffer death. In consequence of these orders, several were executed, and many were reduced to poverty and wretchedness.

14. In these times of confusion and distress, the mischievous effects of slavery in facilitating the conquest of the country, became apparent. As the slaves had no interest at stake, the subjugation of the states was a matter of no consequence to them. Instead of aiding in its defence, they, by a variety of means, threw the weight of their little influence into the opposite scale.

15. There were yet some citizens, who, in all fortunes, adhered with firmness to the cause of independence. Of these, in one part of the state, general Sumpter was the leader, in another, general Marion. The cavalry of the latter were so destitute of the weapons of war, that they were obliged to cut their swords from the saws of the saw-mills. He was so successful in concealing himself in woods and marshes, that the enemy were never able to attack or discover him. From these dark retreats, he often sallied forth, and fell unexpectedly upon parties of the enemy, when marching through the country, or posted in garrisons to overawe the inhabitants. In one of these sallies, he released one hundred and fifty continentals captured at Camden. His repeated and successful excursions preserved alive the spirit of resistance, and his high fame as a partizan was never tarnished by any violation of the laws of war or humanity.

16. Of those who submitted through fear, or from attachment to the royal cause, major Ferguson, a British officer of distinguished merit, was appointed commander.

He was despatched, by Cornwallis, into the western part of North-Carolina, where, other tories joining him, his force was augmented to 1400 men. An enterprise against this party was concerted by the commanders of the militia, in the adjacent parts of the two Carolinas and Virginia. About the 1st of October, they, by great exertions, assembled 3000 men at Gilbert-town. From these, fifteen hundred choice riflemen were selected; who, mounted on the best horses, hastened to the attack of Ferguson.

17. He awaited them on the top of King's mountain. The militia, in three divisions, led by colonels Cleveland, Shelby, and Campbell, ascended it in different directions. These divisions, successively arriving, were each repulsed; but each, when the enemy by an attack from a different quarter, were recalled from pursuit, returned again to the charge. In this manner the action was continued for an hour with great spirit. Ferguson was then killed, and with him expired the courage of his party. Eight hundred threw down their arms and became prisoners. One hundred and fifty were killed. Very few of the assailants fell.

18. Cornwallis, confident of his ability to subjugate the state, had followed Ferguson into North-Carolina. Receiving notice of his entire defeat, he returned and took post at Winnsborough. As he retired, Gates, who had assembled an army of 1400 men, advanced to Charlotte, where he determined to pass the winter. He was soon after recalled by congress, and, on the recommendation of Washington, general Greene was withdrawn from the northern army to take command of the department of the south.

19. By the northern army, which, as has been stated, was posted at West-Point and Morristown, little more was attempted, during the year, than to watch the motions of the enemy, in New-York, and protect the inhabitants from their incursions. The troops unfed, unpaid, and unemployed, discovered, at various times, a disposition to mutiny. On these occasions, the British commander, by means of emissaries sent among them, invited them to repair to the city, where he promised them comfort and abundance. His invitations were disregarded. Relief from distress was all they sought, and when that was obtained, they cheerfully returned to their duty.

20. In July, a French squadron under admiral Ternay, bringing 6000 troops, commanded by count Rochambeau,

arrived at Rhode Island, which had previously been evacuated by the enemy; they were immediately blockaded in the harbor they had entered, by a British fleet. Reinforced by these troops, Washington determined to attack New-York; the army marched to stations nearer the city, and rejoiced in the hope of being able to accomplish something for their country; but the arrival from England of another fleet, under admiral Rodney, disconcerted the plan which had been formed.

21. Defeat at the south and disappointment at the north overshadowed the land with gloom; but intelligence that treason had appeared in the American camp occasioned amazement and alarm. The traitor was Arnold, whom bravery in battle, and fortitude in suffering, had placed high in the affections of the people.

22. Upon the evacuation of Philadelphia, by the enemy, in 1778, he was appointed commander of that station. Here, indulging in all the pleasures of an expensive equipage and sumptuous table, he contracted debts which he was unable to discharge. To extricate himself from embarrassment, he made large claims against the government, a portion of which was rejected. He was accused of extortion and of misuse of the public money; and for these offences was tried by a court martial and sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief.

23. From this moment, he determined to avenge his wounded pride and supply his wants, by betraying his country. In a letter to a British officer, he signified his change of principle, and his wish to restore himself to the favor of his prince, by some signal proof of his repentance. And about this time, for a purpose which afterwards too plainly appeared, he solicited and obtained the command of West-Point, the most important post in the possession of the American Armies.

24. He immediately opened a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, and proposed to deliver into his power the post that he commanded. To agree upon the mode of surrender, major Andre, a young man of splendid talents and adjutant-general of the British army, ascended the river from New-York, and, in the night, at a place near the American lines, had an interview with Arnold. Before he was prepared to return, the sloop of war which brought him was compelled to move down the river.

25. In this emergency, Andre, disguised as a traveller, assuming the name of Anderson and furnished by Arnold

with a pass, set out to return by land to New-York. He passed all the guards and posts without awakening suspicion; but was stopped, when near the end of his journey, by three of the New-York militia, whose names were Paulding, Williams, and Vanwart. Supposing them to be soldiers of his own army, instead of producing his pass, he declared himself a British officer and desired he might not be detained.

26. On discovering his mistake, he offered them a purse of gold and a valuable watch, and promised more ample rewards from his government, if they would permit him to escape. Rejecting, with patriotism worthy of all praise, these tempting offers, they conducted him to colonel Jameson, who was stationed near the American lines. In his boots were found a particular statement of the strength of the garrison, and a description of the works at West-Point. Anxious for the safety of Arnold, he desired the colonel to inform him that Anderson was taken. An express was unwarily despatched with the intelligence. Arnold, comprehending his danger, made a precipitate flight to New-York.

27. Andre, disdaining longer concealment, then avowed himself to be the adjutant-general of the British army. Suspicion being now excited, colonel Jameson transmitted to the commander-in-chief, who was not far distant, information of all the events which had occurred. Washington, hastening to West-Point, made arrangements for repelling any attack that might be made. Measures of precaution being taken, the fate of the prisoner was next to be decided.

28. His case was referred to a board of officers. Appearing before them, he confessed, with ingenuous frankness, every circumstance relating to himself, but would disclose nothing which might involve others in his misfortune. He displayed, in all his conduct while a prisoner, great nobleness of mind; but the board, constrained by duty, reported that he must be considered as a spy, and agreeably to the law of nations, ought to suffer death.

29. Sir Henry Clinton, by whom he was highly esteemed, made every exertion in his power to avert his fate. He entreated, remonstrated, and threatened. To have yielded, would have betrayed timidity and weakness, and encouraged future treason. Andre suffered an ignominious death, with a degree of composure and fortitude which proved how great and illustrious he might have been, had he not

stooped, in an evil hour, to the commission of an ignominious action.

30. Arnold received, as the reward of his treachery, the sum of 10,000 pounds, and the rank of brigadier-general in the British army. But he was detested by his new associates, and his name will be for ever synonymous with infamy and baseness. In contrast with his, how bright shines the fame of the three captors of Andre. They were not then, nor can they ever be, forgotten by a country which owes so much to their fidelity. Each received the thanks of congress, a silver medal, and a pension for life, which has been doubled at a subsequent season of greater national prosperity.

31. At the close of the year 1780, the troops of the northern army retired to the winter quarters which they had last occupied. Again they endured distress at which patriotism feels indignant and humanity weeps. The harvest had been abundant. Plenty reigned in the land, but want in the camp of its defenders. Selfishness had succeeded patriotism, lassitude enthusiasm, in the breasts of the people, and congress exerted its powers with too little vigor to draw forth the resources of the country.

32. The soldiers of the Pennsylvania line were stationed at Morristown, in New Jersey. They complained that, in addition to sustaining sufferings common to all, they were retained in service contrary to the terms of their enlistments. In the night of the first of January, thirteen hundred, on a concerted signal, paraded under arms, and declared their intention of marching to Philadelphia, and demanding of congress a redress of their grievances.

33. The officers strove to compel them to relinquish their purpose. In the attempt, one was killed and several were wounded. General Wayne presented his pistols as if intending to fire. They held their bayonets to his breast; "We love and respect you," said they, "but if you fire you are a dead man. We are not going to the enemy. On the contrary, if they were now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever. But we will be amused no longer; we are determined to obtain what is our just due."

34. They elected temporary officers, and moved off in a body towards Princeton. General Wayne, to prevent them from plundering the inhabitants, forwarded provisions for their use. The next day he followed, and requested

them to appoint a man from each regiment, to state to him their complaints. The men were appointed, a conference held, but he refused to comply with their demands.

35. They proceeded in good order to Princeton. Three emissaries from sir Henry Clinton meeting them here, made them liberal offers to entice them from the service of congress. The offers were instantly rejected, and the emissaries seized and confined in strict custody. Here they were also met by a committee of congress, and a deputation from the state of Pennsylvania. The latter, granting a part of their demands, persuaded them to return to their duty. The agents of Clinton were then given up, and immediately executed as spies.

36. This mutiny, and another in the Jersey line, which was instantly suppressed, aroused the attention of the states to the miserable condition of their troops. The amount of three months pay was raised and forwarded to them in specie. They received it with joy, as it afforded evidence that their country was not unmindful of their sufferings.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781, AND TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

In the spring of 1781, the project of besieging New-York was again resumed. Requisitions for men and stores were made upon the northern states, and, in June, the French and American troops, marching from their respective positions, encamped together on ground contiguous to the city. But reinforcements and supplies arrived slowly, and the want of them compelled the troops in the field to remain inactive.

2. In the southern department, far different was the fortune of the opposing armies. That of which general Greene took the command, consisted of but 2000 men. Nearly one half of these he despatched, under general Morgan, into the western section of South-Carolina, where a British party, aided by the tories, were plundering and murdering the whigs without mercy and without restraint.

3. Against the American detachment, Cornwallis despatched Tarleton, with a force considerably superior, and

a large proportion of it cavalry. Morgan began to retreat, but disdaining to fly from an enemy, and uncertain whether he could escape an officer so distinguished as his pursuer for the celerity of his movements, he, on the 17th of January, halted at the Cowpens, and determined to hazard a battle, before his troops became dispirited and fatigued.

4. Soon after he had placed his men, the British van appeared in sight. Confident of an easy victory, Tarleton rushed to the charge with his usual impetuosity. The militia posted in front yielded, as directed by Morgan, to the shock; and the infantry composing the second line, retreated a few yards. In the ardor of pursuit, the enemy were thrown into disorder: the infantry, facing about, poured upon them a fire as deadly as it was unexpected. Their disorder was increased, and a charge with the bayonet completed their overthrow. One hundred of the enemy were killed, and five hundred made prisoners.

5. Seldom has a victory, achieved by so small a number, been so important in its consequences. It deprived Cornwallis of one fifth of his force, and disconcerted his plans for the reduction of North-Carolina. He sought, however, to repair, by active exertions, the loss which he had suffered. Having learnt that Morgan, the instant after his victory, had marched with his prisoners towards Virginia, he determined, if possible, to intercept him, and compel him to restore his trophies.

6. Now commenced a military race which has hardly its parallel in history. Each army strove to arrive first at the fords of the Catawba, from which both were equally distant. The American troops endured almost incredible hardships. They were sometimes without meat, often without flour, and always without spiritous liquors. Many, marching over frozen ground without shoes, marked with blood every step of their progress.

7. On the twelfth day after the battle, Morgan reached the fords and crossed the Catawba. Two hours afterwards, Cornwallis arrived, and, it being then dark, encamped on the bank. In the night, a heavy fall of rain made the river impassable. This gave Morgan an opportunity to remove the prisoners beyond the reach of his pursuer. And here he was joined by general Greene, who, leaving the main body of his army, with orders to march towards Virginia, had ridden, with but two or three attendants, one hundred and fifty miles for that purpose.

8. At the end of three days, Cornwallis found means to

pass the river. The retreat and pursuit again commenced. On the second night, the Americans reached a ford on the Yadkin. Before all had crossed, the British appeared, and a part of the baggage was left in their power. Again the two armies lay encamped on the opposite banks, and before morning, this river also was made impassable by the rain. This second preservation from imminent danger, persuaded the Americans that their cause was favored of heaven.

9. The next day, Greene proceeded to Guilford court-house, where he was joined by the other division of his army. Cornwallis, marching up the Yadkin, crossed at the shallow fords near its source. Both armies now started for the river Dan, on the borders of Virginia, and distant more than one hundred miles. The knowledge that there the course must terminate, gave fresh vigor to the troops, and a new impulse to their speed. On the fifth day, the American army, having, in the last twenty-four hours, marched forty miles, crossed the river in boats which had been collected for the purpose, and scarcely were they over, when the British appeared on the opposite shore.

10. Chagrined that his adversary had thus eluded his grasp, Cornwallis wheeled about and marched sullenly to Hillsborough. Here many loyalists resorted to his standard. Six hundred Virginia militia having, in the mean time, joined the American army, Greene determined to recross the Dan, and, by his presence in North-Carolina, support the courage of those who had embraced the cause of independence.

11. Cornwallis having detached Tarleton, with his legion, to the country on the branches of the Haw river, in order to countenance the rising of the loyalists in that neighborhood, a body of cavalry, under lieutenant-colonel Lee, and of militia under general Pickens, were directed to march thither and attack him. Lee, who led the van, overtook, in a long lane, a band of tories, on their way to the enemy. Mistaking him for Tarleton, they expressed a lively joy at the meeting, and declared their zealous attachment to the royal cause.

12. Hoping to surprise Tarleton, who was but a mile in advance, Lee forbore to correct their error; but while he was endeavoring to pass them, the militia came up and engaged their rear. Relinquishing his first project, he ordered his cavalry to fall upon the tories, who were slaughtered without mercy, while protesting they were

"the very best friends of the king." Between two and three hundred were killed. Tarleton, alarmed by the firing, retreated instantly to Hillsborough. On his way, he cut down a small party of royalists, mistaking them for whig militia.

13. Leaving Hillsborough, Cornwallis next encamped near Guilford court-house. Greene, having been still further strengthened by several bodies of militia, pursued and offered him battle. On the 15th of March, an engagement was fought. At the first fire, the North-Carolina militia, who were in the front line, fled. The second line was also routed. The continentals, who composed the third, fought with their usual bravery, and for an hour and a half maintained the conflict with great firmness. They at length gave way, but retreated in good order, the slaughter they had made in the enemy's ranks preventing pursuit. Both sides sustained nearly an equal loss.

14. This victory, won by a far inferior force, was more glorious than advantageous to the British army. Greene, expecting and desiring to be attacked at his place of retreat, made preparations for a second engagement. Cornwallis, far from courting a battle, deemed it prudent to retire to Wilmington, near the sea. He was pursued for a few days, but so excessive had been the sufferings of the Americans, from hunger and fatigue, that many fainted on the march, and at Ramsay's mills the army halted to seek refreshment and repose.

15. After remaining three weeks at Wilmington, Cornwallis proceeded to Petersburgh, in Virginia. From Ramsay's mills, Greene marched towards Camden, where were posted nine hundred men, under the command of lord Rawdon. He took a position on Hobkirk's hill, about a mile from the British entrenchments. At this position, the Americans were attacked on the 25th of April. In the beginning of the action, their bravery gained advantages which, in its progress, were lost by the premature retreat of two companies, occasioned by the death of all their officers. At this reverse of fortune, Greene retired a few miles from the field, both armies having sustained nearly an equal loss.

16. In April and May, several British posts in South-Carolina, fell into the power of the brave and active partizans, who, with small bodies of troops, were ever present, where oppression was to be resisted, or glory won. Marion and Lee invested and took fort Watson. Orange-

burg and fort Motte surrendered to Sumpter. Lee captured fort Granby, and Marion drove from Georgetown the troops stationed to defend it. None of these posts had numerous garrisons, the prisoners being less, in the whole, than eight hundred; but the advantages they had secured to the enemy rendered their capture important to the American cause.

17. About the last of May, lord Rawdon retired to Monk's corner, near Charleston, leaving garrisons only at Ninety-Six and Augusta. The latter post was besieged by Lee, and soon capitulated. Ninety-Six, which was much stronger, was invested by the main army. The siege had continued three weeks, and eventual success appeared certain, when intelligence arrived that lord Rawdon, having received a reinforcement from Ireland, was approaching, with two thousand men, to the relief of the place. All hope was now lost of reducing it by the slow operation of a siege. On the 18th of June, the Americans, with great gallantry, made an assault upon the works. They were received with no less gallantry by the garrison, and repulsed. Greene then retired towards North-Carolina, and three days afterwards lord Rawdon arrived at Ninety-Six.

18. During this year, the inhabitants of the Carolinas endured calamity and distress, from which humanity revolts with horror. The country was ravaged and plundered by both armies. The people, in sentiment, were about equally divided. Village was hostile to village, and neighbor to neighbor; and their hostility had been embittered by accusation and retort, by attack and reprisal, until pillage, burning, and murder, became familiar to all. Whenever a republican or royalist fell into the power of an adversary, he was instantly sacrificed in revenge of a friend, or to gratify political hatred. It is asserted that, in this manner, thousands were put to death. Each party aimed at the extirpation of the other, and the whole country presented an unvaried scene of blood and slaughter. But censure ought not to rest equally upon the two parties. In the commencement of the contest, the British, to terrify the people into submission, set an example which the tories were quick, but the whigs slow, to follow; and in its progress the American generals, and they alone, seized every occasion to discountenance such vindictive and barbarous conduct.

19. Lord Rawdon having returned to England, the com-

mand of the British troops, in South-Carolina, devolved upon lieutenant-colonel Stewart. In the beginning of September, he took post at Eutaw. Greene marched against him from the High Hills of Santee. Their forces were equal, amounting on each side to two thousand men. On the 8th, a battle was fought, more bloody perhaps than any which had occurred during the war. The attack was made by the Americans; the British, resolute and brave, made an obstinate resistance, but were at length driven in disorder from the field.

20. A small number, on their retreat, took possession of a large brick house, and others of an adjoining picketed garden. From these strong positions, a deadly fire was poured upon the Americans, who persisted, for a long time, in a rash attempt to take them by storm. This check enabled the British commander to rally his broken battalions, and bring them again into action. Greene, despairing of further success, withdrew his troops, carrying with him his wounded and prisoners.

21. The loss on both sides was uncommonly great, in proportion to the numbers engaged. On the American side, the number of killed and wounded amounted to five hundred and fifty; on that of the British, as stated by themselves, to almost seven hundred. This sanguinary battle was followed by the retreat of the British army towards Charleston. The Americans pursued, and by establishing a chain of posts at a short distance from that city, protected the state from their incursions.

22. Cornwallis, who left North-Carolina in April, arrived at Petersburgh, in Virginia, on the 20th of May. He there formed a junction with a British detachment, which, commanded at first by Arnold and afterwards by Phillips, had previously gained possession of Richmond and Portsmouth. With the force now at his command, he flattered himself that he should be able to add this state also to the list of his conquests.

23. The American troops, stationed in Virginia for its defence, were indeed entirely insufficient to oppose any effectual resistance. Under their gallant leader, the Marquis de la Fayette, they accomplished even more than was expected; but were unable to prevent the enemy from marching through the country, and destroying much public and private property.

24. From these excursions, Cornwallis was recalled to the sea-coast by his commander-in-chief, who, having inter-

cepted a letter from Washington to Congress, became acquainted with the danger which threatened New-York. He was directed to take a position near the ocean, where his army and the fleet might afford mutual protection, until the event of the operations of the north should be known. He selected Yorktown and Gloucester point, situated on opposite sides of York-river, which empties into Chesapeake bay. He had an army of more than 10,000 men, and applied all his means, with unwearied industry and zeal, to fortify these commanding positions.

25. In the mean time, but little progress had been made in the preparations to besiege New-York. Of the 6000 men, whom the northern states were required to furnish for that purpose, a few hundred only, at the beginning of August, had joined the army. On the other hand, the enemy in the city had been strengthened by the arrival of 3000 Germans. In this posture of affairs, the idea of an expedition against Cornwallis occurred to the commander-in-chief. While deliberating on the enterprise, he received information that a French fleet, under the count de Grasse, with 3000 troops on board, was on the way to America, and destined to the Chesapeake.

26. He hesitated no longer, but determined to conduct the expedition in person. The show of an intention to attack New-York, was nevertheless preserved. After the troops left their respective positions, and crossed the Hudson, their march was so directed as to lead Sir Henry Clinton to believe that it was the object of Washington to gain possession of Staten Island, in order to facilitate his designs against the city. The despatches he had intercepted assisted to deceive him, and not until the army had crossed the Delaware, and was thus beyond the reach of pursuit, did he suspect the real object of his adversary.

27. He then determined to profit by his absence, or recall him, by some daring enterprise at the north. Giving to the traitor Arnold, who had just returned from Virginia, the command of a strong detachment, he sent him against New-London, a flourishing city situated upon the river Thames, in his native state. Nearly opposite, on a hill in Groton, stood fort Griswold, which was then garrisoned by militia, hastily summoned from their labors in the field.

28. Against this fort Arnold despatched a part of his troops. It was assaulted on three sides at the same moment. The garrison, fighting in view of their property

and their homes, made a brave and obstinate resistance. By their steady and well directed fire, many of the assailants were killed. Pressing forward with persevering ardor, the enemy entered the fort through the embrazures. Immediately all resistance ceased. Irritated by gallantry which should have caused admiration, a British officer inquired who commanded the fort. "I did," said colonel Ledyard, "but you do now," and presented him his sword. He seized it, and with savage cruelty plunged it into his bosom. This was the signal for an indiscriminate massacre. Of one hundred and sixty men, composing the garrison, all but forty were killed or wounded, and most of them after resistance had ceased. Seldom has the glory of victory been tarnished by such detestable barbarity. The enemy then entered New-London, which was set on fire and consumed. The property destroyed was of immense value. Perceiving no other object within the reach of his force, Arnold led back his troops to New-York.

29. The march of Washington was not arrested by this barbarous inroad. He pressed forward with the utmost speed, the great object in view imparting vigor to his troops. At Chester, he received the cheering intelligence, that admiral de Grasse had entered the Chesapeake with a force sufficiently strong to prevent the escape of the enemy by water. On the 25th of September, the last division of the allied forces arrived at the place appointed for their meeting. The whole consisted of 16,000 men, and was furnished with a large and powerful train of battering artillery.

30. A body of troops under general de Choise was stationed to watch the small garrison at Gloucester Point, on the north bank of the river; and on the 28th the several divisions, destined to besiege the main garrison at Yorktown, reached the positions assigned them. On the night of the 6th of October, advancing to within 600 yards of the enemy's lines, they begun their first parallel, and labored with such silence and diligence, that they were not discovered until morning, when the works they had raised were sufficient to protect them.

31. On the 9th, several batteries being completed, a heavy cannonade was begun. Many of the enemy's guns were dismounted, and portions of their fortifications laid level with the ground. On the night of the 11th, the besiegers commenced their second parallel, three hundred

yards in advance of the first. This approach was made so much sooner than was expected, that the men were not discovered at their labor, until they had rendered themselves secure from all molestation in front. The fire from the new batteries was still more furious and destructive.

32. From two British redoubts, in advance of their main works, and flanking those of the besiegers, the men in the trenches were so severely annoyed that Washington resolved to storm them. The enterprise against one was committed to an American, that against the other to a French detachment. Colonel Hamilton, who led the van of the former, made such an impetuous attack, that possession was soon obtained, with little slaughter. Retaliation for the carnage at fort Griswold might have been justified. But "the soldiers," said colonel Hamilton, "incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocation, spared every man that ceased to resist." The French detachment was equally brave and successful, but, opposed by a stronger force, sustained a more considerable loss.

33. Cornwallis, perceiving no hope of safety but in flight, attempted, on the evening of the 16th, to cross over to Gloucester, intending to force his way through the troops under de Choise, and proceed by rapid marches to New-York. Before reaching the opposite shore, with the first division of his army, a storm dispersed his boats and compelled him to abandon the project.

34. On the morning of the 17th, additional batteries were completed by the besiegers. The cannonade became too powerful to be resisted. The enemy's works were sinking rapidly under it, and nearly all their guns were silenced. Before noon, Cornwallis beat a parley, and proposed that commissioners should be appointed to settle terms of surrender. They were accordingly appointed, and on the 19th of October, the terms which they had agreed upon were ratified by the respective commanders.

35. The naval force in the harbor was surrendered to de Grasse, the garrison to the American general. To the garrison, the same terms were granted as had been conceded to the troops who capitulated at Charleston; and general Lincoln, who was present, was designated by Washington to receive the sword of Cornwallis. The number of prisoners exceeded seven thousand, of whom nearly three thousand were not fit for duty.

36. On no occasion during the war, did the American

people manifest greater exultation and joy. To the Giver of all good, they united in rendering, with grateful hearts, thanksgiving and praise for the decisive victory which he had enabled them to gain. From the nature and duration of the contest, the affections of many had been so concentrated upon their country, and so intense was their interest in its fate, that the news of this brilliant success produced the most rapturous emotions, under the operation of which some were deprived of their reason, and one aged patriot in Philadelphia expired.

37. The loss of a second entire army extinguished every hope, which the people of Great Britain had entertained, of the subjugation of their colonies. Their burdens, which, although heavy, they had borne with patience, while animated by the prospect of success, now pressed with intolerable weight. They demanded, with an almost unanimous voice, that an end should speedily be put to a hopeless and ruinous war. But the speech of the king to parliament, at the opening of the winter session, discovered, that his feelings and determination remained unchanged. Bearing no portion of the burdens of war, he felt, with undiminished force, his reluctance to part with the authority which he had once exercised over three millions of subjects.

38. But the house of commons, speaking the sentiments of the people, expressed, in energetic language, their disapprobation of all further attempts to reduce the colonies to obedience by force. Lord North, contrary to the wishes of his sovereign, then resigned the office of prime minister. Another cabinet was formed, who advised the king to concede independence to the colonies. Early in the spring of 1782, pacific overtures were accordingly made to the American government, and both nations desisted from hostile measures.

39. Congress had previously appointed John Adams, of Massachusetts, a commissioner to treat with Great Britain, whenever her government should express a desire for peace. He was one of the earliest opposers of parliamentary encroachment. Actuated by hatred of tyranny as well as love of country, he had, before resistance was contemplated by others, devoted all the energies of his powerful mind to the work of enlightening the people, and preparing them for the contest which he foresaw was approaching. In the continental congress he was conspicuous for his talents and zeal. Appointed minister to

Holland, he succeeded in obtaining a loan at Amsterdam, when the resources of his country were almost exhausted, and in concluding with that republic a treaty of amity and commerce.

40. As colleagues with him, congress now appointed Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens. The first was minister to France. He was beloved by his country for the services he had rendered her; and illustrious throughout the world for his inventive genius and practical philosophy. John Jay was a native of New-York; was distinguished for the purity of his moral character, and his attachment to the rights of mankind. He had long been a member of congress, and was then the representative of the United States at the Spanish court. Henry Laurens was a citizen of South-Carolina, had been president of congress, had been appointed minister to Holland, but when crossing the ocean, was captured by a British cruiser and confined, on a charge of treason, to the tower of London. In the endurance of sufferings in his country's cause, he displayed a character formed after the models of antiquity.

41. To negotiate with these, Mr. Oswald was appointed on the part of Great Britain. The conferences were held at Paris, where, in November, 1782, preliminary articles were agreed upon. These were to form the basis of a definitive treaty, the conclusion of which was deferred until peace should take place between France, the ally of the United States, and Great Britain. That event occurred on the third day of December, 1783; and, on the same day, a definitive treaty between the parent country and her late colonies was also signed.

42. The provisions of the treaty attest the zeal and ability of the American negotiators, as well as the liberal feelings which actuated the new British ministry. The independence of the United States was fully acknowledged. The right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and certain facilities in the enjoyment of that right, were secured to them for ever; and territory was ceded to them more extensive than the most sanguine had dared to anticipate or to hope. During the negotiation, France, to ensure the future dependence of her allies upon herself, endeavored, by secret intrigues, to prevent them from obtaining as favorable terms as even their late enemies were willing to grant—a striking proof of the selfishness of nations.

43. While the negotiations were pending, the American troops were retained in service, but remained unemployed at their various stations. They saw with pleasure the end of their toils approaching, but apprehended, that their country, when she no longer needed their services, would forget with what zeal and fidelity they had been rendered. The officers, especially, dreaded that, after having, for want of pay, expended their private fortunes, and after having exhausted their strength in the performance of arduous and protracted services, they should be dismissed in poverty, without any secure provision for their future support.

44. In the course of the war, a resolution had been adopted by congress, stipulating that the officers, after being disbanded, should receive half-pay for life. This resolution had never been ratified by the requisite number of states, and no safe reliance could therefore be placed upon it. In December, 1782, the officers forwarded to congress a petition praying that all arrears which were due to them might be discharged, and that, instead of half-pay for life, a sum equal to five years full pay should be paid or secured to them when disbanded.

45. The delay of congress to comply with this request produced an alarming agitation in that portion of the army stationed at Newburgh. An address to the officers was privately circulated, written with great ability, and admirably well fitted to work upon those passions which recent sufferings and gloomy forebodings had excited in every bosom. The writer boldly recommended that, as all the applications to the sympathy and justice of congress had failed of success, an appeal should be made to their fears.

46. Fortunately the commander-in-chief was in camp. Though conscious that the officers had just cause of complaint, he was aware that duty to his country and even friendship for them, required that he should prevent the adoption of rash and disorderly expedients to obtain redress. Calling them together, he, by a calm and sensible address, persuaded them to rely still longer upon the disposition of congress to perform for them whatever the limited means of the nation would permit.

47. In a letter to that body, giving an account of these occurrences, he maintained and enforced the claims of the officers with such pathos and strength of reasoning, that their request was granted. In November, 1783, the PATRIOT ARMY was disbanded, and again mingled with

their fellow citizens. In the same month, New-York was evacuated by the British troops. General Washington, taking an affectionate leave of his officers, repaired to Annapolis, where congress was sitting, and there, at a public audience, with dignity and sensibility, resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the American armies. Then, with a character illustrious throughout the world, he returned to his residence at Mount Vernon, possessing the sincere love and profound veneration of his countrymen.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION,

AND

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

INDEPENDENCE and peace did not immediately produce all the advantages which had been anticipated by an ardent and sanguine people. The evils of war were protracted beyond its duration. Public and private debts bore heavily upon the people, restraining their enterprise and demanding all their resources.

2. Unsupported by the sense of imminent and common danger, the articles of confederation were found insufficient to accomplish the purposes of a national government. They conferred upon congress the power, not to raise money, but merely to make requisitions upon the states. These were often disregarded, no authority being given to enforce obedience. The revenue was therefore deficient, the public creditors were unpaid, and the national securities or evidences of debt depreciated so low that they were often sold for one eighth of their nominal value.

3. Neither did these articles confer the power to regulate commerce. Congress, therefore, could not make commercial treaties with foreign nations which would be obligatory upon the individual states. Unprotected by treaties, and unsupported by countervailing regulations, the American merchants were denied all participation, except on terms at once burdensome and degrading, in the commerce of the world. The trade between the several states, which

were considered separate and independent sovereignties, was also embarrassed by numerous restrictions, producing frequent collisions, and diminishing the benefits which naturally flow from the unfettered enterprise and industry of man. Commerce languished; and from the want of its vivifying influence, all the energies of the country were dormant.

4. To remedy these evils, congress applied to the states for a grant of the power to regulate commerce, and to collect a revenue from it. New-York alone refused; but as unanimity was requisite, her single negative defeated the project. In the mean time, the distress increased, and in Massachusetts, where it was greatest, urged to insurrection a portion of the inhabitants. Near the close of the year 1786, they assembled, to the number of two thousand, in the northwestern part of the state, and, choosing Daniel Shays their leader, demanded that the collection of debts should be suspended, and that the legislature should authorize the emission of paper money for general circulation.

5. Two bodies of militia, drawn from those parts of the state where disaffection did not prevail, were immediately despatched against them, one under the command of general Lincoln, the other of general Shepard. They were easily dispersed; and afterwards abandoning their seditious purposes, accepted the proffered indemnity of the government.

6. So early as 1783, John Adams, being then minister in Europe, and seeing in what light the American confederation was regarded by foreign nations, suggested to congress the expediency of effecting a closer union of the states, and of conferring more efficient powers upon the general government. A conviction of the necessity of such a course was also felt by general Washington, and most of the distinguished patriots of that period. In September, 1786, upon the proposition of Mr. Madison, of Virginia, a convention of commissioners from five of the middle states, was held at Annapolis, for the purpose of devising and recommending to the states a uniform system of commercial regulations.

7. These commissioners, after deliberating upon the subject, came to the conclusion that nothing short of a thorough reform of the existing government should be attempted. This opinion was expressed in the report of their proceedings, which was laid before congress. That

body adopted, in consequence, a resolution recommending that a convention of delegates from all the states should be held at Philadelphia, for the purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and reporting such alterations as would render the federal constitution adequate to the exigencies of government, and the preservation of the union.

8. With this recommendation all the states, except Rhode Island, complied; and in May, 1787, the convention met. Of this body of venerable and illustrious statesmen, George Washington was unanimously elected president. They deliberated with closed doors, and at the end of four months, agreed upon a constitution for the United States of America, which, after being reported to congress, was submitted for ratification to conventions holden in the respective states.

9. This constitution, under which the citizens of this republic have enjoyed such unexampled happiness and prosperity, differs, in many particulars, from the articles of confederation. It connects the states more closely together, by establishing a general and supreme government composed of three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial.

10. The legislative department consists of a senate and house of representatives, and is styled the congress. The members of the house are chosen by the people, and hold their offices two years. They are apportioned among the several states, according to the number of inhabitants, as ascertained every tenth year by the census, deducting two fifths of the slaves.

11. The senators are the representatives of the states, in their sovereign capacity, and are chosen by the state legislatures, each choosing two. The constitution ordained that on assembling at the first session, they should be divided, as equally as possible, into three classes. Those composing the first class were to hold their offices but two years; those composing the second class, four years; those composing the third, six years. All subsequently chosen were to hold their offices six years, except such as should be chosen to supply the places of those who died or resigned. Besides their legislative power, they have, in concurrence with the executive, a voice in all appointments to office, and in the ratification of treaties.

12. The executive power is vested in a president appointed by electors. These electors are chosen in the respective states, in such manner as the different legisla-

tures may prescribe, and are equal in number to the senators and representatives from the state in congress. If, however, no person receives a majority of the votes of these electors, the president is then chosen by the representatives, those from each state having but one vote. He is elected for four years; but he may be impeached by the house, tried by the senate, and, if convicted of misconduct, may be removed from office. He is commander-in-chief of the land and naval forces. He nominates to the senate all officers of the general government, and with the advice and consent of two-thirds of that body, ratifies treaties. A vice-president is chosen at the same time, and in the same manner, to perform all the duties of president when that office is vacant by death, resignation, or removal.

13. To pass a law the house and senate must concur, and it is then to be sent to the president, who must approve it. If he does not approve it, he must return it with his objections; and it must then be agreed to by two-thirds of both branches. Laws thus enacted are obligatory upon the citizens individually, and may be executed by officers appointed by the president and senate. Under the confederation, the ordinances of congress operated only upon the states, and no efficient mode was provided for enforcing them.

14. The constitution confers on congress the power to declare war; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to regulate commerce; to coin money; and all other powers of a general or national character. It diminishes, in no respect, the liberty of the citizen, but transfers a portion of the powers, previously exercised by the state governments, to the government of the union.

15. The judicial power of the United States is vested in a supreme court, and such inferior courts as the congress may establish; and it extends to all cases arising under the constitution, the laws of congress, and treaties; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to all controversies between citizens of different states, and between foreigners and citizens: the judges hold their offices during good behavior.

16. The new constitution found opposers as well as advocates, and both were equally zealous. The former, ardently attached to liberty, imagined that rulers possessing such extensive sway, such abundant patronage, and

such independent tenure of office, would become fond of the exercise of power, and in the end, arrogant and tyrannical. The latter professed equal attachment to liberty, but contended that, to preserve it, an energetic government was necessary. They described, with powerful effect, the evils actually endured from the inefficiency of the confederation, and demanded that a trial at least should be made of the remedy proposed. These took the name of federalists, as friendly to a union of the states; the appellation of anti-federalists was given to their antagonists.

17. In the conventions of eleven states, a majority, though in some instances a small one, decided in favor of its ratification. Provision was then made for the election of the officers to compose the executive and legislative departments. To the highest station, the electors, by a unanimous vote, elected George Washington, illustrious for his virtues and military talents. To the second, that of vice-president, by a vote nearly unanimous, they elevated John Adams, who, in stations less conspicuous, had, with equal patriotism, rendered important services to his country.

18. The fourth of March, 1789, was the day designated for the new government to commence its operations. The delays incident to its first organization, prevented the inauguration of the president, until the 30th of April. The ceremony was witnessed, with inexpressible joy, by an immense concourse of citizens. In an impressive address to both houses of congress, he declared, with characteristic modesty, his "incapacity for the mighty and untried cares before him," and offered his "fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, whose providential aid can supply every human defect, that his benediction would consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes; and would enable every instrument, employed in its administration, to execute, with success, the functions allotted to his charge."

19. He also expressed his firm conviction, "that the foundation of our national policy would be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and that the pre-eminence of a free government would be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world."

20. "I dwell," said he, "on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can

inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists, in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; and since the destiny of the republican model of government is justly considered as DEEPLY, perhaps as FINALLY, staked on the experiment intrusted to the American people."

21. To establish a revenue sufficient for the support of government, and for the discharge of the debt contracted in the revolutionary war, was the first object of congress. For this purpose, duties were laid on the importation of merchandise, and on the tonnage of vessels; and from these sources were drawn into the national treasury, funds which had before been collected and appropriated by the states on the sea coast.

22. Laws, creating a department of state, of the treasury, and of war, were enacted; and Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Hamilton, and general Knox, appointed secretaries or principals. A national judiciary was constituted and organized. A resolve was passed, directing the secretary of the treasury to prepare a plan for the support of public credit; and amendments to the constitution were proposed, which were subsequently ratified by the states; and which, removing many of the objections made to it, rendered it acceptable to all.

23. After the adjournment of congress, the president made a tour through New-England, where he was received by the inhabitants with an affection bordering on adoration. People of all classes crowded to behold the man whose virtues and talents exalted him, in their view, above the heroes of ancient and modern times; and to present to him the undissembled homage of their grateful hearts. But to none did his visit give more exquisite pleasure than to the officers and soldiers of the "patriot army," who had been his companions in suffering and in victory, who were endeared to him by their bravery and fidelity in war, and by the magnanimity with which, in peace, they endured unmerited neglect and poverty.

24. At the next session of congress, which commenced in January, 1790, Mr. Hamilton, the secretary of the treasury, made his celebrated report upon the public debts contracted during the revolutionary war. Taking an able and enlarged view of the advantages of public credit, he

recommended that, not only the debts of the continental congress, but those of the states arising from their exertions in the common cause, should be funded or assumed by the general government; and that provision should be made for paying the interest, by imposing taxes on certain articles of luxury, and on spirits distilled within the country.

25. Upon this report an animated debate took place. Its recommendations were opposed by that party who had seen, or thought they had seen, in the constitution, many features hostile to freedom, and who remembered that Mr. Hamilton, when a member of the convention, had proposed that the president and senate should be appointed to hold their offices during good behavior. They now expressed their fears, that the assumption of these debts would render the government still stronger, by drawing around it a numerous and powerful body of public creditors, who, in all its contests with the states or the people, would be bound, by the strongest of all ties, that of interest, to support it whether right or wrong. This party, existing principally in the southern states, and professing an ardent attachment to the equal rights of man, took the name of republican.

26. Mr. Madison proposed, that whenever the public securities had been transferred, the highest price which they had borne in the market should be paid to the purchaser, and the residue to the original holder. After an eloquent debate, this proposition was rejected. The party denominated federal, and existing principally in the northern states, supported throughout, with great ability and force of reasoning, the plans of the secretary; but on taking the vote in the house of representatives, they were rejected by a majority of two.

27. Afterwards this national measure was connected, as is too frequently the case in legislative bodies, with one which had excited much local feeling. It was understood that, should the seat of government be fixed for ten years at Philadelphia, and afterwards permanently at a place to be selected on the Potomac, some southern members would withdraw their opposition to the funding system. A law to that effect was accordingly enacted. The former discussion was then resumed. The plans of the secretary were adopted in the senate and afterwards in the house, two members representing districts on the Potomac, changing their votes. The debt funded amount-

ed to a little more than seventy-five millions of dollars; upon a part of which three per cent, and upon the remainder six per cent interest was to be paid.

28. The effect of this measure was great and rapid. The price of the public paper, which had fallen to twelve or fifteen cents on the dollar, suddenly rose to the sum expressed on the face of it. This difference was gained, in most instances, by purchasers of the securities, who, feeling indebted, for this immense accession of wealth, to the plans of the secretary, regarded him with enthusiastic attachment. But in others, this wealth, suddenly acquired without merit, excited envy and dissatisfaction. These joined the republican party; who, fancying they were witnessing the fulfilment of their prediction, became more active in their opposition.

29. The recommendation of the secretary to impose additional duties, was not acted upon until the next session of congress. Those on distilled spirits were proposed in order to render the burdens of the inhabitants beyond the Alleghany mountains, where no other spirits were consumed, equal to those of the inhabitants on the sea coast, who consumed most of the articles on which an import duty was paid. In the beginning of the year 1791, they were laid as proposed. A national bank, recommended also by the same officer, was in the same year incorporated. Both measures met a violent opposition from the republican party.

30. When the new government was first organized, but eleven states had ratified the constitution. Afterwards, North-Carolina and Rhode Island, the two dissenting states, adopted it; the former in November, 1789, the latter in May, 1790. In 1791, Vermont adopted it, and applied to congress to be admitted into the union. The territory of this state, situated between New-Hampshire and New-York, was claimed by both, and both had made grants of land within its limits. In 1777, the inhabitants, refusing to submit to either, declared themselves independent. Although not represented in the continental congress, yet, during the war, they embraced the cause of their brethren in the other states, and to them their aid was often rendered, and was always efficient. Agreeably to their request, an act was now passed, constituting Vermont one of the members of the union. An act was also passed, declaring that the district of Kentucky, then a part of Virginia, should be admitted

into the union on the first day of June, in the succeeding year.

31. In 1791, was completed the first census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States. They amounted to 3,921,326, of which number 695,655 were slaves. The revenue, according to the report of the secretary of the treasury, amounted to 4,771,000 dollars, the exports to about nineteen, and the imports to about twenty millions. A great improvement in the circumstances of the people began at this period to be visible. The establishment of a firm and regular government, and confidence in the men whom they had chosen to administer it, gave an impulse to their exertions which bore them rapidly forward in the career of prosperity.

32. In 1790, a termination was put to the war which, for several years, had raged between the Creek Indians and the state of Georgia. Pacific overtures were also made to the hostile tribes inhabiting the banks of the Scioto and the Wabash. These being rejected, an army of 1400 men, commanded by general Harmer, was despatched against them. Two battles were fought near Chilicothe, in Ohio, between successive detachments from this army and the Indians, in which the latter were victorious.

33. Emboldened by these successes, they made more vigorous attacks upon the frontier settlements, which suffered all the distressing calamities of an Indian war. Additional troops were raised, and the command of the whole was given to general St. Clair. With near 2000 men, he marched, in October, into the wilderness. By desertion and detachments, this force was reduced to fourteen hundred. On the third of November, they encamped a few miles from the villages on the Miami, intending to remain there until joined by those who were absent.

34. But before sunrise, the next morning, just after the troops were dismissed from the parade, they were attacked unexpectedly by the Indians. The new levies, who were in front, rushed back in confusion upon the regulars. These, who had been hastily formed, were thrown into disorder. They, however, with great intrepidity, advanced into the midst of the enemy, who retired from covert to covert, keeping always beyond reach, and again returning as soon as the troops were recalled from pursuit. In these charges many brave and experienced officers

were killed; the loss of men was also great, and no permanent impression was made upon the enemy.

35. At length, after a contest of three or four hours, St. Clair, whose ill health disabled him from performing the active duties of commander, determined to withdraw from the field the remnant of his troops. The instant that the directions to retire were given, a disorderly flight commenced. Fortunately for the survivers, the victorious Indians were soon recalled from pursuit to the camp, by their avidity for plunder; and the vanquished continued their retreat unmolested to the frontier settlements.

36. In this battle, the numbers engaged on each side were supposed to be equal. Of the whites, the slaughter was almost beyond example. Six hundred and thirty were killed and missing, and two hundred and sixty were wounded—a loss which proves at once the obstinacy of the defence, and the bravery of the assailants. On receiving information of this disaster, congress, resolving to prosecute the war with increased vigor, made provision for augmenting, by enlistment, the military force of the nation to 5000 men.

37. In the autumn of 1792, general Washington was again unanimously elected president of the American republic, and in March, 1793, was inducted into office. Mr. Adams was re-elected vice-president, in opposition to George Clinton, of New-York. In the progress of these elections, but little party feeling was exhibited; the repose of society was not disturbed, but the citizens raised to posts of the highest honor those whom their judgments and affections designated as the most worthy.

38. While the Americans, with but little alloy, were enjoying, under a government of their own choice, the blessings of independence and freedom, the people of France, by whose aid these blessings had been acquired, were experiencing all the miseries of anarchy. Greviously oppressed by institutions originating in times of ignorance and barbarism, they had risen in the majesty of physical strength, and declared their determination to be free. Against a whole people, aroused by their sufferings to demand their rights, what effectual resistance can be opposed? Before their energetic exertions, prompted by enthusiasm and directed by fatal skill, their ancient government crumbled to the dust.

39. Passing at once from abject slavery to entire liberty, their conduct was marked by the most shocking excesses.

The mild virtues of their king, alleviating but slightly the evils of despotism, could not save him from that resentment which consigned to indiscriminate destruction the hereditary orders. Himself, his queen, and many thousands of the nobility and clergy, suffered death on the scaffold. A new government was instituted, having, for its fundamental principle, the universal equality of man. Its form was often changed, and the reins of authority were successively but unsteadily, held by the temporary favorites of an unenlightened and capricious people.

40. The Americans could not regard with indifference this struggle of their allies for freedom. They considered their excesses as the first effects of sudden relief from oppression, and hoped that experience would produce sobriety of conduct and reverence for law. They hailed the French revolution as the offspring of their own, and cherished the flattering expectation that, by the diffusion of the principles of liberty, the whole civilized world would become partakers of its blessings.

41. The French people, at the same time, regarded the Americans as their brethren, bound to them by the ties of gratitude; and when the kings of Europe, dreading the establishment of republicanism in her borders, assembled in arms to restore monarchy to France, they looked across the Atlantic for sympathy and assistance. The new government, recalling the minister whom the king had appointed, despatched the citizen Genet, of ardent temper and a zealous republican, to supply his place. In April, 1793, he arrived at Charleston, in South-Carolina, where he was received, by the governor and the citizens, in a manner expressive of their warm attachment to his country, and their cordial approbation of the change in her institutions.

42. Flattered by his reception, and presuming that the nation and the government were actuated by similar feelings, he assumed the authority of expediting privateers from that port to cruise against the vessels of nations who were enemies to France, but at peace with the United States, a procedure forbidden by the laws of nations, and derogatory to the government of the country. Notwithstanding this illegal assumption of power, he received, on his journey to Philadelphia, extravagant marks of public attachment; and, on his arrival there, "crowds flocked from every avenue of the city to meet the republican ambassador of an allied nation." Intoxicated by these con-

tinued and increased demonstrations of regard, he persisted in forming and executing schemes of hostility against the enemies of France.

43. The British minister complained to the president, who, by the unanimous advice of his cabinet, directed Mr. Jefferson, the secretary of state, to lay before the minister of France the principles which would regulate the conduct of the executive in relation to the powers at war. These principles forbade the course which Mr. Genet had pursued. Relying on the popularity of his nation, he attempted, by insolent and offensive declarations, to drive the president from the ground he had taken. He threatened to appeal from the government to the people, a measure which other agents of the French republic had adopted with success in Europe. Here the result was different. The people rallied around rulers, having the same interest as themselves. The minister was abandoned by most of his friends; his government, at the request of the president, annulled his powers; and fearing to return, he remained in the country, a striking example of the imbecility of a factious individual among a people confiding in their rulers, and contented with their lot.

44. This conduct of Mr. Genet, the attrocities committed by the French people, and the dreaded danger of their example, alienated from them many of the citizens of the United States, especially those belonging to the federal party. And as the world was then agitated by the mighty contest between France and Great Britain—a contest which permitted not neutrality of feeling—those who became hostile to the former became naturally the friends of the latter. To her they were besides attracted by identity of origin, by resemblance of institutions, by similarity of language, by community of laws, of literature, and of religion.

45. The republicans retained an unabated affection for the French, whose services they remembered with gratitude, and whose struggles for freedom, against the league of European tyrants, engaged all their sympathy. Over these two parties Washington, admitting no thought but for his own country, watched with anxious solicitude, striving to restrain their aberrations, and to temper their mutual animosities.

46. After the defeat of St. Clair by the Indians, in 1791, general Wayne was appointed to command the American

forces. Taking post near the country of the enemy, he made assiduous and long protracted endeavors to negotiate a peace. Failing in these, he marched against them, at the head of three thousand men. On the 20th of August, 1794, an action took place in the vicinity of one of the British garrisons, on the banks of the Miami. A rapid and vigorous charge roused the savages from their coverts, and they were driven more than two miles at the point of the bayonet. Broken and dismayed, they fled without renewing the combat. Their houses and cornfields were destroyed, and forts were erected on the sites of the towns laid waste. In 1795, a treaty was concluded at Grenville, which, long and faithfully observed, gave peace and security to the frontier inhabitants, permitting the abundant population of the eastern states to spread, with astonishing rapidity, over the fertile region north-west of the Ohio.

47. The tax which had been imposed upon spirits distilled within the country, bearing heavily upon the people in the western counties of Pennsylvania, produced there disaffection and disturbance. All excise taxes, of which this was one, being considered hostile to liberty, great exertions were made to excite the public resentment against those who should willingly pay it, and especially against the officers appointed to collect it. In September, 1791, a large meeting of malcontents was held at Pittsburgh, at which resolutions, encouraging resistance to the laws, were passed; and subsequently other meetings were held, at which similar resolutions were adopted. Committees of correspondence were also appointed to give unity of system to their measures, and to increase the number of their associates.

48. A proclamation of the president, exhorting all persons to desist from illegal combinations, and calling on the magistrates to execute the laws, was disregarded. The marshall of the state, while serving processes upon delinquents and offenders, was resisted and fired upon. The inspector of the revenue, dreading the indignation of the populace, procured a small detachment of soldiers to guard his house. These were attacked by a body of five hundred insurgents, who, setting fire to several contiguous buildings, obliged the soldiers to leave the house, and deliver themselves up. Several individuals, zealous in supporting the government, were ordered to quit the country and compelled to obey. An intention was openly avowed of forcibly

resisting the general government with the view of extorting a repeal of the offensive laws. The effective strength of the insurgents was computed at seven thousand men.

49. The president, conceiving himself bound by the most solemn obligations, "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," determined to call out a part of the militia of Pennsylvania, and the adjacent states, to suppress this insurrection. In the autumn of 1794, fifteen thousand were detached, and being placed under the command of governor Lee, of Virginia, were marched into the disaffected counties. The strength of this army rendering resistance desperate, none was offered, and no blood was shed. A few of the most active leaders were seized and detained for legal prosecution. The great body of the insurgents on submission were pardoned, as were also the leaders, after trial and conviction of treason. The government acquired the respect of the people, by this exertion of its force, and their affection, by this display of its lenity.

50. Since the peace of 1783, Great Britain and the United States, had each incessantly complained that the other had violated the stipulations contained in the treaty. The former was accused of having carried away negroes at the close of the revolutionary war; and of retaining in her possession certain military posts situated in the western wilderness, and within the limits of the United States, in consequence of which the Americans were deprived of their share of the fur trade, and the Indians incited to make incursions upon the frontier settlements. The latter were accused of preventing the loyalists from regaining possession of their estates, and British subjects from recovering debts contracted before the commencement of hostilities.

51. For the purpose of adjusting these mutual complaints, and also of concluding a commercial treaty, Mr. Adams, in 1785, was appointed minister to London. Great Britain, aware that the articles of confederation did not authorize congress to bind the states by a commercial treaty, declined then to negotiate. After the constitution was ratified, ministers were interchanged, and the discussion was prosecuted with no little acrimony and zeal.

52. In 1794, Mr. Jay being then minister from the United States, a treaty was concluded, which, in the spring of the next year was laid before the senate. That body advised the president to ratify it, on condition that an alteration should be made in one of the articles. Its

contents having, in the mean time, been disclosed, the republican party exclaimed, in intemperate language, against most of the stipulations it contained. The partisans of France swelled the cry of condemnation. Public meetings were held in various parts of the union, at which resolutions were passed expressing warm disapprobation of the treaty, and an earnest wish that the president would withhold his ratification. Such appeared to be the wish of a great majority of the people.

53. General Washington, believing that an adjustment of differences would conduce to the prosperity of the republic, and that the treaty before him was the best that could, at that time, be obtained, gave it his assent, in defiance of popular clamor. So great was the confidence reposed, by the people, in their beloved chief-magistrate, that the public sentiment began immediately to change. The friends of the treaty not only increased in numbers, but gained courage to speak in its defence. And during the summer of 1795, the nation was agitated by a zealous and animated discussion of its merits.

54. At the next session of congress, it became a subject of consideration in the house of representatives. The treaty, its negotiator, and even the president, were virulently censured, and warmly defended, in a debate which has seldom been equalled for its intemperance, its eloquence, or its duration. On the final question, a majority of three voted in favor of the appropriation necessary to carry it into effect. The subsequent prosperity of American commerce demonstrates the wisdom of the president's decision.

55. The conduct of Spain towards the United States, had ever been cold and unfriendly. She feared lest the principles of liberty, and the desire of independence should find their way into her contiguous American provinces. During the negotiations at Paris, which resulted in peace, she secretly exerted her influence to cause the western boundaries of the new republic, from the great lakes to Florida, to be fixed two or three hundred miles east of the Mississippi. To the repeated offers, which were afterwards made, to form with her a commercial treaty, and to make arrangements respecting the mutual navigation of that river, she pertinaciously declined to accede.

56. When the inhabitants beyond the Alleghany mountains had become numerous, she denied them access to the ocean by the medium of that river, the mouth of which was within her province of Louisiana. She intended,

perhaps, to show them the importance of that privilege by withholding it, and to allure them, by the promise of restoring it, to submit to her authority. The people of Kentucky, indignant at the deprivation, laid their complaints before congress. In bold and forcible language they asserted their rights, by the laws of God and of nature, to the free use of that noble river, and demanded that, at any cost, the acknowledgment of that right should be obtained.

57. At length Spain became involved in a war with France. Embarrassed at home, and intimidated by the unauthorized preparations which, under the auspices of Genet, were making in Kentucky to invade Louisiana, she intimated her readiness to conclude a satisfactory treaty, should a minister be sent to Madrid for that purpose. Thomas Pinkney was accordingly appointed. In October, 1795, a treaty was signed, securing to the citizens of the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi to the ocean, and the privilege of landing and depositing cargoes at New-Orleans.

58. Thus were adjusted all controversies with two European powers, which, while they existed, retarded the prosperity, and disturbed the tranquillity of the country; and from which, at different periods, even war was seriously apprehended. In 1795, a treaty was also concluded with the regency of Algiers, with which the republic was previously at war. It stipulated that the United States, in conformity with the practice of other nations, should, as the price of peace, pay an annual tribute to the sovereign of that country.

59. Within the last two or three years, several changes took place in the important offices of the nation. On the first day of the year 1794, Mr. Jefferson resigned the office of secretary of state. He had performed the duties of that office with extraordinary ability, and to the entire satisfaction of the president. Having been minister to France at the commencement of the revolution there, he became acquainted with its prime movers, and, anticipating from their exertions the diffusion of the principles of liberty and the renovation of the government, was, in the early stages of its progress, its enthusiastic and undisguised defender. Of the republican party, he was considered the leader, enjoying their highest confidence and warmest attachment. He was succeeded by Edmund Randolph, of Virginia.

60. On the last day of January, 1795, Mr. Hamilton retired from the office of secretary of the treasury. He possessed distinguished talents, and had exerted those talents to establish order where all was confusion, and to raise from the lowest depression the credit of the country. His complete success greatly exalted his reputation, and to him the federalists felt a sincerity of attachment equalled only by that entertained for Washington. With him he had served in the revolutionary war, and had then acquired his confidence and affection, which he ever afterwards retained. Being the advocate of an energetic government, and averse to intrusting much power with the people, he was peculiarly obnoxious to the republican party. He was accused of partiality to England, and of misconduct in office. After the closest scrutiny, his official character was acknowledged, by his enemies, to be without stain. He was succeeded by Oliver Walcott, of Connecticut.

61. At the close of the year 1794, general Knox resigned the office of secretary of war, and colonel Pickering, of Massachusetts, was appointed in his place. In August Mr. Randolph, having lost the confidence of the president, and having in consequence retired from the administration, Mr. Pickering was appointed his successor in the department of state, and James M'Henry, of Maryland, was made secretary of war. No republican being now at the head of any of the departments, many of the leaders of that party withdrew their support from the administration; and licentious individuals, in their abusive attacks, dared to charge even the president with corruption. But the confidence of the people in his integrity and patriotism experienced not the slightest abatement.

62. The conduct of France towards the American republic continued to be a source of increasing trouble and vexation. Mr. Fauchet, the successor of Genet, bore, from those by whom he was deputed, the strongest assurances of friendship; but encouraged and supported by a numerous party, ardently attached to his nation, he gradually assumed towards the administration the tone of remonstrance and reproach. He charged it with sentiments of hostility to the allies of the United States, with partiality for their former foes, and urged the adoption of a course more favorable to the cause of liberty.

63. The American government was in fact desirous of fulfilling all its duties to France, and of conciliating her

friendship. Mr. Morris, the minister to Paris, having incurred the displeasure of those in power, was recalled at their request, and his place supplied by Mr. Monroe of Virginia. This gentleman was a republican, and had embraced with ardor the cause of the French republic. He was received in the most respectful manner by the convention, who decreed that the flags of the two republics, intwined together, should be suspended in the legislative hall, as a mark of their eternal union and friendship.

64. Mr. Adet was appointed soon after, to succeed Mr. Fauchet. He brought with him the colors of France, which he was instructed, by the convention, to present to the congress of the United States. They were received by the president with extraordinary ceremonies, transmitted to congress, and afterwards deposited in the national archives. In the house of representatives, a resolution was unanimously adopted, expressing the lively sensations which were excited by this testimony of the existing sympathy of the two republics, and their hope, that the brilliant and glorious victories of the French people, would lead to the perfect establishment of their liberty and happiness.

65. But France required of the United States more than professions and hopes, and more than by treaty she was entitled to claim. She wished to make them a party in the war she was waging with the despots of Europe. Failing in this, and jealous of the more intimate relations contracted with her enemy, she adopted regulations highly injurious to American commerce, directing her cruisers to capture, in certain cases, the vessels of the United States. In consequence of these regulations, several hundreds, loaded with valuable cargoes, were, while prosecuting a lawful trade, taken and the whole confiscated.

66. Believing that the rights of the nation were not asserted and vindicated with sufficient spirit by Mr. Monroe, the president recalled him, and Charles C. Pinkney, of South-Carolina, was appointed in his stead. In the summer of 1796, he left the United States, instructed to use every effort compatible with national honor, to restore the amicable relations which had once subsisted between the sister republics.

67. General Washington having, at the sacrifice of his own predilections, devoted a great portion of his life to his country; having successfully conducted its armies through an arduous conflict for existence; and having

since directed its course through the most critical period of an experiment under a free constitution, determined to retire to the enjoyment of domestic happiness and rural quiet. In September, he announced this determination to his fellow citizens, and feeling for them all the solicitude of a father for his children, he published at the same time a farewell address.

68. From long experience, he had acquired an intimate acquaintance with the dangers to which the liberties of the republic were exposed. These he deprecated, and warned his countrymen to shun, with all the impressive energy of conviction, and all the ardor of parental affection. He besought them, especially, to frown indignantly, upon the first dawning of any attempt at a separation of the union; to discard local attachments and sectional animosities; to guard against the excessive indulgence of the spirit of party, and against cherishing a hatred of particular nations, and an affection for others.

69. This address was read with sentiments of profound veneration in every part of the union. Some of the state legislatures directed it to be inserted at large in their journals, and most of them passed resolutions expressing their respect for the author, their high sense of his exalted services, and the emotions with which they contemplated his retirement from office.

70. To fill the station from which the father of his country had resolved to retire, the two great political parties brought forward their chiefs. The federalists, desiring that the system of measures adopted by Washington should continue to be pursued, and dreading the influence of French sentiments and principles, made the most active efforts to elect John Adams. The republicans, believing their opponents less friendly than themselves to the maxims of liberty, and too much devoted to the British nation and to British institutions, made equal exertions to elect Thomas Jefferson.

71. The result was the choice of Mr. Adams to be president, and Mr. Jefferson to be vice-president. Released from public cares, Washington hastened to Mount Vernon. Having established his fame as the greatest hero and most distinguished statesman of the age, he there, devoting his time to the cultivation of an extensive farm, added to his titles of renown that of the most industrious and intelligent agriculturalist of his country.

CHAPTER XXV.

MR. ADAMS'S, MR. JEFFERSON'S, AND PART OF MR. MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

DECLARATION OF WAR.

MR. ADAMS, soon after the commencement of his presidential term, received from Mr. Pinkney despatches of a most disagreeable and alarming nature. The Directory, then exercising the executive authority in France, had refused to accredit him, declaring their determination not to receive another minister from the United States, until they had fully complied with the demands which had been made. He was moreover ordered, by a written mandate, to quit the territories of the republic.

2. Congress were immediately convened, and the despatches laid before them. Their proceedings indicated a love of peace, but also a firm determination to yield to no unjust demand. Laws were passed authorizing the president, whenever he should deem it necessary, to detach eighty thousand men from the militia of the United States, providing for an increase of the navy, and for augmenting the revenue of the nation. To display to France, and to the world, his desire of peace, and to leave no means unattempted to preserve it, the president resolved to institute another and more solemn mission. General Pinkney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, were accordingly appointed envoys to the French republic, and were instructed, as the first had before been, to seek a reconciliation as the representatives of a people dreading war much, but the sacrifice of honor more.

3. These also the directory refused to receive. They were, however, addressed by persons verbally instructed, by Talleyrand, the minister of foreign relations, to make them proposals. In explicit terms, these unofficial agents demanded a large sum of money before any negotiation could be opened. To this insulting demand, a decided negative was given. A compliance was nevertheless repeatedly urged, until at length the envoys refused to hold with them any further communication. After remaining several months at Paris, pressing in vain to be received and heard, two, who were federalists, were ordered to leave France, but Mr. Gerry, who was a republican, was permitted to remain, and was invited singly to enter

into discussions relating to the commencement of a negotiation.

4. When these events were known in the United States, they excited general indignation. The spirit of party appeared to be extinct. "Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute," resounded from every quarter of the union. The treaty of alliance with France was declared by congress to be no longer in force. Authority was given for capturing armed French vessels. Provision was made for raising immediately a small regular army; and, in case events should render it expedient, for augmenting it. A direct tax and additional internal duties were laid.

5. To command the armies of the United States, president Adams, with the unanimous advice of the senate appointed George Washington. He consented, but with great reluctance, to accept the office, declaring, however, that he cordially approved the measures of the government.

6. No opportunity was presented of testing the courage and skill of the American troops. At sea, a desperate action was fought between the frigate Constellation, of 38 guns, commanded by commodore Truxton, and the French frigate L'Insurgente, of 40 guns. The latter, although of superior force, was captured. The same intrepid officer, in a subsequent action, compelled another French frigate of 50 guns, to strike her colors, but she afterwards escaped in the night.

7. The United States, in arms at home and victorious on the ocean, commanded the respect of their enemy. The directory made overtures of peace. The president immediately appointed ministers, who, on their arrival at Paris, found the executive authority in the possession of Bonaparte as first consul. They were promptly accredited, and in September, 1800, a treaty was concluded satisfactory to both countries.

8. While this negotiation was in progress, the whole American people were overshadowed with gloom, by the sudden death of the FATHER of his country. On the 14th of December, 1799, after an illness of one day only, general Washington expired. Intelligence of this event, as it rapidly spread, produced spontaneous, deep, and unaffected grief, suspending every other thought, and absorbing every different feeling.

9. Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, immediately adjourned. On assembling the next day, the house of representatives resolved, "that the speaker's chair

should be shrouded in black, and the members wear black during the session; and that a joint committee should be appointed to devise the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the MAN first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

10. The senate, on this melancholy occasion, addressed a letter of condolence to the president of the United States. "This event," they observe, "so distressing to all our fellow citizens, must be particularly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with yours. On this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man, at such a crisis, is no common calamity to the world. Our country mourns a father. The Almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to HIM who maketh darkness his pavilion.

11. "With patriotic pride we review the life of our WASHINGTON, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory.

12. "Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example—his spirit is in heaven. Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage: let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labors, and of his example, *are their inheritance.*"

13. Agreeably to the report of the committee, and the unanimous resolves of congress, a funeral procession moved from the legislative hall to the German Lutheran church, where an oration was delivered by general Lee, a representative from Virginia. The procession was grand and solemn, the oration impressive and eloquent. Throughout the union similar marks of affliction were exhibited. A whole bereaved people appeared in mourning. In every part of the republic, funeral orations were delivered, and the best talents of the nation were devoted to an expression of the nation's grief.

14. In pursuance of the law enacted in 1790, a place had been selected on the Potomac, a few miles above

Mount Vernon, for the permanent seat of the national government. Within a district ten miles square, which was called the District of Columbia, a city was laid out, to which the name of Washington was appropriately given. Public buildings having been erected, the officers of government removed to that place in 1800, and in November of that year, congress, for the first time, there commenced its session.

15. At this period, a presidential election again recurred. From the time of the adoption of the constitution, the republican party had been gradually increasing in numbers. The two parties being now nearly equal, the prospect of success inspired both with uncommon ardor. The federalists supported Mr. Adams and general Pinkney; the republicans, Mr. Jefferson and colonel Burr. The two latter received a small majority of the electoral votes; and as they received also an equal number, the selection of one of them to be president devolved upon the house of representatives. After thirty-five trials, during which the nation felt intense solicitude, Mr. Jefferson was chosen. Colonel Burr received the votes of the federalists, and lost, in consequence, the confidence of his former friends. By the provisions of the constitution, he became, of course, vice-president.

16. The causes which rendered Mr. Adams unpopular and led to a change in the administration were, his apparent coldness towards the French revolution; the charge that the federalists generally were partial to Great Britain; the expenditure of money for building a navy and for other purposes alleged to be impolitic or useless; the enactment of the alien law, by which the president was authorized to compel suspected foreigners to leave the country, and of the sedition law which provided that the authors and publishers of false and malicious accusations against the president and members of congress should be prosecuted and punished. But more effectual than these was the charge that Mr. Adams, and the party which supported him, entertained political opinions less favorable to liberty than those of the party which opposed him.—By deserting a man so distinguished as Mr. Adams for his talents, for his experience in political affairs, and for the important services which he had rendered to his country in the revolutionary struggle, the people showed how jealous they were of the liberty they had obtained, and how firmly they were determined to guard it from even possible danger.

17. The control of the government being now transferred to the republican party, they, at the next session of congress, repealed, after a long and eloquent debate, a law altering the judicial system, which had been passed at the close of Mr. Adams's administration. This repeal annihilated the offices of sixteen judges, who had just been appointed. At the same session, the internal duties were also abolished.

18. A second census of the people, referring to 1800, was completed in 1801. They amounted to 5,319,762, having in ten years increased nearly one million four hundred thousand. In the same number of years the exports increased from *nineteen* to *ninety-four* millions, and the revenue from 4,771,000 to12,945,000 dollars! This rapid advance in the career of prosperity has no parallel in the history of nations, and is to be attributed principally to the institutions of the country, which, securing equal privileges to all, give to the enterprise and industry of all, free scope and full encouragement.

19. In 1802, the state of Ohio was admitted into the union. It was formerly a portion of the Northwestern Territory, for the government of which, in 1787, an ordinance was passed, by the continental congress. With commendable foresight they provided that slavery, the source of weakness, of poverty, and of crime, should never exist in that extensive and fertile region. This is doubtless one of the causes of the unparalleled rapidity of its population. In thirty years from its first settlement, the number of its inhabitants exceeded half a million. The state of Tennesee, which was previously a part of North-Carolina, and lies between that state and the river Mississippi, was admitted in 1796.

20. The right of deposit at New-Orleans, conceded to the citizens of the United States by Spain, and necessary to the people of the western country, had, until this period, been freely enjoyed. In October, the chief officer of that city, prohibited the exercise of it in future. This violation of a solemn engagement produced, throughout the states of Ohio and Kentucky, indignant clamor and violent commotion. In congress, a proposition was made to take possession, by force, of the whole province of Louisiana, and the injured people of the west were eager for permission to avenge their wrongs, and to regain their rights, by the sword.

21. A more pacific course was adopted. Knowing

that the province had been ceded, although not transferred, to France, the president instituted a negotiation to acquire it by purchase. In April, 1803, a treaty was concluded, conveying it to the United States for fifteen millions of dollars.

22. The territory thus added to the national domain, was first discovered by the French, who, in 1699, began a settlement within its limits. It continued a colony of that nation until 1762, when it was ceded to Spain. In her possession it remained, slowly increasing in population, until October, 1800 when it was retroceded to France, and by her was afterwards, as has been related, transferred to the United States. The inhabitants, a mixture of French and Spaniards, were not numerous. Its boundaries have never been defined. They embrace, at a moderate estimation, a territory more extensive than some of the most powerful European kingdoms, and in many parts the soil is exceedingly fertile. Its acquisition was considered, by the United States, of the greatest importance, as it gave them the entire control of a river, which is one of the noblest in the world.

23. Since the year 1801, war had existed between the United States and Tripoli, one of the states of Barbary, situated on the coast of the Mediterranean. No memorable event occurred until 1803, when a large squadron, under the command of commodore Preble, was despatched into that sea. On arriving before Tripoli, captain Bainbridge, in the frigate Philadelphia, of 44 guns, was sent into the harbor to reconnoitre. While in eager pursuit of a small vessel, he unfortunately advanced so far that the frigate grounded, and all attempts to remove her were in vain. The sea around her was immediately covered with Tripolitan gun-boats, and captain Bainbridge was compelled to surrender. The officers were considered as prisoners of war; but the crew, according to the custom of Barbary, were treated as slaves.

24. At the capture of this frigate, the enemy rejoiced and exulted beyond measure. Lieutenant Stephen Decatur conceived the design of retaking or destroying her. Commodore Preble, applauding the spirit of the youthful hero, granted him permission to make the attempt. In February, 1804, he sailed from Syracuse, in a small schooner, having on board but seventy-six men, entered undiscovered the harbor of Tripoli, and advancing boldly took a station alongside the frigate. Perceiving the crew

in consternation, Decatur sprang on board, his men followed, and with drawn swords rushed upon the enemy. The decks were soon cleared, some being killed, and others driven into the sea.

25. A heavy cannonade upon the frigate, from the batteries on shore and the corsairs near, was now commenced, and several vessels of war were seen approaching. She was set on fire and abandoned, none of the party being killed and but four wounded. Throughout all the piratical states, this brilliant exploit exalted the reputation of the American arms. The president, in reward of his address and bravery, promoted lieutenant Decatur to the rank of post-captain in the navy.

26. While the squadron remained before Tripoli, other deeds of heroism were performed, evincing a love of fame and a devotion to country unsurpassed in Grecian or Roman story. The events and operations of this war shed a lustre upon the American name, gave experience and character to the officers, and prepared them to acquire greater glory in a contest with a nobler foe. They were equalled however, by an enterprise on land, bold and romantic in its conception, and exhibiting, in its execution, uncommon address and decision of character.

27. William Eaton, who had been a captain in the American army, was, at the commencement of this war, consul at Tunis. He there became acquainted with Hamet Caramanly, whom a younger brother had excluded from the throne of Tripoli. With him he concerted an expedition against the reigning sovereign, and returned to the United States to obtain permission and the means to undertake it. Permission was granted, the co-operation of the squadron recommended, and such pecuniary assistance as could be spared was afforded.

28. To raise an army in Egypt, and lead it to attack the usurper in his dominions, was the project which had been concerted. In the beginning of 1805, Eaton met Hamet at Alexandria, and was appointed general of his forces. On the 6th of March, at the head of a respectable body of mounted Arabs, and about seventy Christians, he set out for Tripoli. His route lay across a desert one thousand miles in extent. On his march, he encountered peril, fatigue, and suffering, the description of which would resemble the exaggerations of romance. On the 25th of April, having been fifty days on the march, he arrived before Derne, a Tripolitan city on the Mediterra-

nean, and found in the harbor a part of the American squadron, destined to assist him. He learnt also that the usurper, having received notice of his approach, had raised a considerable army and was then within a day's march of the city.

29. No time was therefore to be lost. The next morning he summoned the governor to surrender, who returned for answer, "My head or yours." The city was assaulted, and after a contest of two hours and a half, possession gained. The Christians suffered severely and the general was slightly wounded. Great exertions were immediately made to fortify the city. On the 8th of May, it was attacked by the Tripolitan army. Although ten times more numerous than Eaton's band, the assailants, after persisting four hours in the attempt, were compelled to retire. On the 10th of June another battle was fought, in which the enemy were defeated. The next day the American frigate Constitution arrived in the harbor, which so terrified the Tripolitans that they fled precipitately to the desert.

30. The frigate came, however, to arrest the operations of Eaton, in the midst of his brilliant and successful career. Alarmed at his progress, the reigning bashaw had offered terms of peace, which, being much more favorable than had before been offered, were accepted by Mr. Lear, the authorised agent of the government. Sixty thousand dollars were given as a ransom for the unfortunate American prisoners, and an engagement was made to withdraw all support from Hamet. The nation, proud of the exploits of Eaton, regretted this diplomatic interference, but the treaty was ratified by the president and senate; and thus ended the war in the Mediterranean.

31. Colonel Burr, having lost the confidence of the republican party, became, in 1804, a candidate for the office of governor of New-York: the federalists generally gave him their votes, but Mr. Hamilton, considering him an unprincipled politician, openly opposed his election. The choice fell upon the rival candidate. A duel ensued between these distinguished individuals, the challenge proceeding from Burr. Hamilton was mortally wounded. This event produced a strong and lively sensation throughout the union. At the next presidential election, which occurred in the same year, Mr. Jefferson was elected president, and George Clinton of New-York, vice-president, the former receiving all but fourteen votes.

32. Burr, notwithstanding his brilliant talents, now sunk, for a time, into merited obscurity. His future conduct showed, however, that, while unobserved by his fellow citizens, he had not been idle. In the autumn of 1806, his movements in the western country attracted the notice of government. He had purchased and was building boats on the Ohio, and engaging men to descend that river. His declared purpose was to form a settlement on the banks of the Washita, in Louisiana; but the character of the man, the nature of his preparations, and the incautious disclosures of his associates, led to the suspicion that his true object was either to gain possession of New-Orleans, and erect into a separate government the country watered by the Mississippi and its branches, or to invade, from the territories of the United States, the rich Spanish province of Mexico.

33. From the first moment of suspicion, he was closely watched by the agents of the government. At Natchez, while on his way to New-Orleans, he was cited to appear before the supreme court of the Mississippi Territory. But he had so enveloped his projects in secrecy, that sufficient evidence to convict him could not be produced, and he was discharged. Hearing, however, that several persons, suspected of being his accomplices, had been arrested at New-Orleans and elsewhere, he fled in disguise from Natchez, was apprehended on the Tombigbee, and conveyed a prisoner to Richmond. Two indictments were found against him, one charging him with treason against the United States, the other with preparing and commencing an expedition against the dominions of Spain.

34. In August, 1807, he was tried, upon those indictments, before John Marshall, the chief justice of the United States. Full evidence of his guilt not being exhibited, he was acquitted by the jury. The people, however, believed him guilty; and by their desertion and contempt, he was reduced to a condition of the most abject wretchedness. The ease with which his plans were defeated, demonstrated the strength of the government, and his fate will ever be an impressive warning to those who, in a free country, listen to the suggestions of criminal ambition.

35. The wars produced by the French revolution continued to rage in Europe. The attempts, made by the neighboring kings, to compel republican France to resume her monarchical institutions, had not only been resisted and defeated by her indignant citizens, but they had fol-

lowed home the repelled invaders of their country, and had subdued those who began the war with the hope and purpose of subduing France. The nation had necessarily become a nation of soldiers, and one, more daring and fortunate than the others, had been placed at their head as chief of the republic. By his extraordinary talents, and the vast means subjected to his single will, he acquired control over most of the European kingdoms.

36. England, however, unsubdued and undaunted, had become as pre-eminent on the water as France on the land. Her powerful navy expelled every hostile navy from the ocean, and rode triumphant in every sea. America profitted from the destruction of the ships and commerce of other nations. Being neutral, her vessels carried from port to port the productions of France and her dependant kingdoms; and also to the ports of those kingdoms the manufactures of England. Few ships were found on the ocean except those of the United States and Great Britain.

37. The latter, having always found it impossible to man her numerous fleets, by voluntary enlistments, had been accustomed to resort to impressment, or seizing by force her subjects and compelling them to serve, as sailors, on board her ships of war. Soon after the peace of 1783, she claimed a right to search for and seize them, even on board of neutral vessels while traversing the ocean. In the exercise of this pretended right, citizens of the United States, sometimes by mistake and sometimes by design, were seized, dragged from their friends, transported to distant parts of the world, compelled to perform the degrading duty of British sailors, and to fight with nations at peace with their own. Against this outrage upon personal liberty and the rights of American citizens, Washington, Adams, and Jefferson had remonstrated in vain. The abuse continued, and every year added to its enormity, until a feeling of resentment was aroused worthy the best period of the Roman republic.

38. But not in this mode only were the rights of the United States invaded and their interest sacrificed on the ocean. The carrying trade afforded a harvest too rich, and too tempting to British cupidity, to be long enjoyed unmolested. American ships, carrying to Europe the produce of French colonies, were, in an early stage of the war, captured by British cruisers, and condemned by their courts as lawful prizes. Several European ports under the control of France, were declared, by British orders in

council, dated in May, 1806, to be in a state of blockade, although not invested with a British fleet, and American vessels, attempting to enter those ports, were also captured and condemned.

39. France and her allies suffered, as well as the United States, from these transgressions of the laws of nations. Her vengeance fell, not so much upon the belligerent inflicting the injury, as upon the neutral enduring without resenting and repelling it. By a decree, issued at Berlin, in November, 1806, the French emperor declared the British islands in a state of blockade, and of course authorized the capture of all neutral vessels attempting to trade with those islands. From these measures of both nations, the commerce of the United States severely suffered, and their merchants loudly demanded of the government redress and protection.

40. In June, 1807, an event occurred, which for a time concentrated upon one of the rival nations the whole weight of popular indignation. The frigate Chesapeake, while near the coast of the United States, and unsuspicious of danger, was fired upon from the Leopard, a British ship of superior force, three of her men were killed and eighteen wounded. Being unprepared for action, she struck her colors, was then boarded by a detachment from the Leopard, her crew mustered and four of them forcibly carried off upon the pretence that they were British deserters. The truth, upon investigation, was ascertained to be, that three of them were citizens of the United States, had been impressed by the British, and had afterwards escaped from their service.

41. This insolent attack upon a national ship,—this wanton exercise of a claim derogatory to national honor,—aroused the spirit of the republic. The distinctions of party were forgotten, numerous meetings of the citizens were held, and all concurred in the expression of a determination to support the government of their country in its efforts to obtain, whether by negotiation or war, satisfaction for this insulting outrage.

42. The president, by proclamation, prohibited all British ships of war from continuing in or entering the harbors of the United States. He sent instructions to the minister at London to demand satisfaction for the insult, and security against future aggression. He summoned congress to meet and decide what further measures should be adopted. The British government promptly disavowing the act of its

officer, the hostile feelings which had been excited began to subside; but delaying to render satisfaction, and refusing to adopt adequate measures to prevent a continuance of aggression, they were not extinguished nor appeased.

43. Bonaparte having declared his purpose of enforcing with rigor the Berlin decree; the British government having solemnly asserted the right of search and impressment, and having intimated their intention to adopt measures in retaliation of the French decree, the president recommended to congress that the seamen, ships, and merchandise of the United States should be detained in port to preserve them from the dangers which threatened them on the ocean. A law laying an indefinite embargo was in consequence enacted. A hope to coerce the belligerent powers to return to the observance of the laws of nations, by depriving them of the benefits derived from the trade of America, was doubtless a concurring motive for passing the law.

44. A few days only had elapsed, when information was received, that Great Britain had prohibited neutrals, except upon the degrading condition of paying a tax or tribute to her, from trading with France or her allies, comprising nearly every maritime nation of Europe. This was followed, in a few weeks, by a decree issued by Bonaparte, at Milan, declaring that every neutral vessel, which should submit to be visited by a British ship, or to pay the tribute demanded, should be confiscated, if afterwards found in his ports, or taken by his cruisers. Thus, at the date of the embargo, were orders and decrees in existence rendering liable to capture almost every American vessel sailing on the ocean.

45. In the New-England states, the embargo, withholding the merchant from a career in which he had been highly prosperous, and in which he imagined that he might still be favored of fortune, occasioned discontent and clamor. The federalists, more numerous there than in any other part of the union, pronounced it a measure unwise and oppressive. These representations, and the real and severe distress which the people endured, produced a rapid change in their political opinions. In a short time, a majority became federalists, and opposed with zeal all the measures of the government.

46. In the fall of 1808, a new election of chief-magistrate took place. Mr. Jefferson, believing that no person should hold that office more than eight years, and desirous of

confirming the example of Washington, had previously announced his intention to retire to private life. James Madison was elected president and George Clinton vice-president.

47. In March, 1809, congress repealed the embargo, and substituted a law prohibiting all intercourse with France and Great Britain. Bonaparte, in retaliation, issued a decree, at Rambouillet, directing that all American vessels, which were then in the ports of France or might afterwards enter, should be seized and confiscated.

48. In the nonintercourse law, a provision was inserted, that if either nation should revoke her hostile edicts, and the president should announce that fact by proclamation, then the law should cease to be in force in regard to the nation so revoking. In April, Mr. Erskine, the British minister at Washington, engaged, on the part of his government, that the orders in council, so far as they affected the United States, should be withdrawn on the 10th of June; and the president immediately issued the proclamation prescribed in the law.

49. This arrangement the British ministry refused to ratify, declaring that Mr. Erskine had no authority to make it. Recalling him, they appointed Mr. Jackson his successor. In a correspondence between this gentleman and the secretary of state, the former insinuated that the American government knew that Mr. Erskine was not authorized to make the arrangement, and knew of course that it would not be binding on Great Britain. This insinuation was distinctly denied by the secretary, but was subsequently repeated, in an offensive manner, by Mr. Jackson. He was immediately informed, that, on account of his indecorous conduct, no other communications from him would be received. He was shortly afterwards recalled by his government.

50. The nonintercourse law expired in May, 1810, when a proposition was made equally to both belligerents, that if either would revoke its hostile edicts, that law should be revived and enforced against the other. In August, Bonaparte, by his minister of state, assured Mr. Armstrong, the American envoy to France, that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, the revocation to take effect on the first day of November ensuing. Confiding in this assurance, the president, on the second day of November, issued his proclamation, declaring that all intercourse with Great Britain was prohibited, and that an unrestrained commerce with France was allowed.

51. Great Britain having expressed a willingness to repeal her orders whenever France should repeal her decrees, she was now called upon, by the American envoy, to fulfil her engagement. She objected, that the French decrees could not be considered as repealed, a letter from the minister of state not being, for that purpose, a document of sufficient authority. In answer to this objection, proof was presented that the French admiralty courts considered them repealed, and that no American vessel, although many had entered the ports of France, had been subjected to their provisions. Great Britain, however, still persisted to enforce her orders.

52. For this purpose, she had stationed ships of war before the principle harbors of the United States. All American merchantmen, departing or returning, were boarded, searched, and many of them sent to British ports, as legal prizes. Impressments too were frequent, and the British officers, entertaining exalted ideas of their naval strength, and holding in contempt the republican flag, exhibited, on all occasions, an extreme insolence of behavior, which nations as well as individuals expose themselves to incur, by long and patient endurance of insult and aggression.

53. In one instance, however, their insolence was deservedly punished. Commodore Rogers, sailing in the frigate President, met, in the evening, a vessel on the coast of Virginia. He hailed, but instead of receiving an answer, was hailed in turn, and a shot was fired which struck the mainmast of the President. The fire was instantly returned by the commodore, and continued for a few minutes, when, finding his antagonist was of inferior force and that her guns were almost silenced, he desisted. On hailing again, an answer was given, that the ship was the British sloop of war Little Belt, of 18 guns. Thirty-two of her men were killed and wounded, and the ship was much disabled.

54. Mr. Foster, successor to Mr. Jackson, arrived at Washington in the summer of 1811, and proposed terms of reparation for the attack on the Chesapeake. These were a formal disavowal of the act, restoration to the frigate of the surviving sailors taken from it, a pecuniary provision for those who were wounded, and for the families of those who were killed. These terms were accepted by the president.

55. But the British envoy could give no assurance that

his government was disposed to make a satisfactory arrangement of the subject of impressment, or to repeal the orders in council. These orders, on the contrary, continued to be enforced with rigor; and on the restoration of a free commerce with France, a large number of American vessels, laden with rich cargoes, and destined to her ports, fell into the power of British cruisers. Such was now the state of affairs, that the United States suffered the evils of war, while great Britain enjoyed the advantages. Her cruisers, since 1803, had captured nine hundred American vessels.

56. The patience of the nation was exhausted. President Madison, early in November, 1811, called congress together, laid before them the state of foreign relations, and recommended that the republic should be placed in an attitude to maintain, by force, its wounded honor and essential interests. The representatives of the people, whose sentiments and feelings they expressed, determined to act in accordance with the views of the president.

57. Laws were enacted providing for the increase of the regular army to 35,000 men; for the augmentation of the naval establishment; empowering the president to accept of the services of volunteers, to make a detachment from the militia, and to borrow eleven millions of dollars. It was the expectation of many that Great Britain, witnessing these serious preparations, would recede from the stand she had taken.

58. Events, however, occurred, while congress were in session, which considerably diminished this expectation. For several years, the Indian tribes residing near the remote lakes and the sources of the Mississippi, had displayed symptoms of hostility, murdering a number of whites and robbing others of their property. In the fall of 1811, general Harrison, with a small force, was sent into their territories, instructed to negotiate if possible, but to fight if necessary. On the 6th of November, he arrived at Tippecanoe, their principal town, where he was met by Indian messengers, with whom an agreement was made, that hostilities should not take place before the next morning, and that then an amicable conference should be held.

59. Just before daybreak, the savages, in violation of their engagement, made a sudden and furious attack upon the troops in their encampment. Nothing but the precaution of sleeping in order of battle, on their arms, saved

them from total defeat. A dreadful slaughter was made; but the savages were finally repulsed, dispersed, and their town laid waste. A strong belief was entertained, founded upon credible testimony, that they had been incited to hostility by British agents stationed among them.

60. In February, 1812, John Henry, who had once resided in Canada, communicated to the president the fact, that in 1809, he had been employed by the governor of that province, upon a secret mission to Boston, the metropolis of the New-England states; and that he was instructed to confer with the disaffected, upon the subject of a separation of those states from the union, and their forming a political connection with Great Britain. He exhibited documents in support of his disclosures, which he was led to make, by the neglect of his employer to reward him for his services. It did not appear that he had succeeded in corrupting the fidelity of any individual; but the attempt, in a time of peace, and in the midst of the most amicable professions, not only preserved in full force but increased the previous irritation.

61. Congress continued to be employed until the 20th of May, in making preparations for war, still cherishing the hope that a change of policy in Europe would render unnecessary an appeal to arms. On that day, the Hornet arrived from London, bringing information that no prospect existed of a favorable change. On the first of June, the president sent a message to congress, recounting the wrongs received from Great Britain, and submitting the question whether the United States should continue to endure them or resort to war?

62. The message was considered with closed doors. On the 18th, an act was passed declaring war against Great Britain. The measure was decidedly condemned by a considerable portion of the citizens, among whom were many honest and able men. Exercising the undoubted privilege of freemen, they examined, with the severest scrutiny, the measures and motives of the administration. They asserted that the war was unnecessary, partial, and unwise: that it was unnecessary, because, in their opinion, a satisfactory adjustment of all disputes might have been obtained by farther negotiation: that it was partial, because France had given greater provocation, in proportion to her means of annoyance, than Great Britain: that it was unwise, because the nation was not prepared for war; because, by declaring it against almost the only remaining enemy

of France, the United States indirectly but powerfully assisted Bonaparte in his design of universal conquest; and because the expenses and sufferings it must unavoidably occasion, would more than counterbalance all the advantages sought to be obtained. And many, passing the limits of candid and temperate discussion, indulged in a virulence of invective of which no government should be the object that is not manifestly corrupt.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1812.

The people of the United States remembered, with pride, the patriotism and bravery exhibited by their army in the revolutionary war. A long period of peace and prosperity had increased their confidence in their own strength; and the belief was generally entertained, that victory over the same foe would now be so much the more certainly and easily gained, as the nation was more rich and populous. They did not reflect, that peace had impaired the military energies of the republic, while their enemy, by constant exercise in arms, had acquired, not only additional strength, but greater skill to use and apply it.

2. From the veteran officers, who had acquired fame in the former conflict, a selection was made to fill the principal posts in the new army. Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was appointed major-general and commander-in-chief. He was at the battle of Bunker's hill. In the expedition against Quebec, he served as a captain under Arnold. He distinguished himself on these and other occasions; and at the close of the war bore the commission of colonel. He held, for a long time, the office of secretary of war, and discharged its duties with exemplary industry and skill. Thomas Pinkney, of South-Carolina, was also appointed major-general. Among the brigadiers were Wilkinson, Hull, Hampton, and Bloomfield.

3. At the time of the delaration of war, general Hull was also governor of the Michigan territory, of which Detroit is the capital. On the 12th of July, with two thousand regulars and volunteers, he crossed the river dividing the United States from Canada. On the same day, he addressed a proclamation to the Canadians, tendering

them the blessings of civil and religious liberty, and assuring them, in a lofty tone, "that his force was sufficient to break down all opposition," and yet was but the vanguard of one much greater. It appeared to be his purpose to attack Malden, and thence proceed to Montreal.

4. Had the attack been instantly made, success would have been highly probable. A month was wasted in ruinous delay. Distrust and contempt expelled confidence and attachment from the breasts of the Canadians. The ardor of the troops began to cool. Malden was reinforced; and at this critical moment, information was received that Mackinaw, an American post above Detroit, had surrendered to a large body of British and Indians, who were rushing down the river in numbers sufficient to overwhelm the American forces. Panic struck, general Hull hastened back to Detroit.

5. General Brock, the commander at Malden, pursued him, with a force superior in number, but composed of militia and Indians. On the 14th of August, he erected batteries opposite Detroit. The next day, he began a cannonade upon the American fortifications which was returned with precision and effect. On the 16th, the enemy crossed the river, taking post about three miles above the city. Meeting with no resistance, and hearing that some of the American troops were absent, general Brock resolved to march directly forward and assault the fort.

6. The troops, cool and undaunted, awaited in good order the approach of the enemy, anticipating an easy victory. To the astonishment of all, general Hull forbade the artillery to fire, and hung out a white flag in token of a wish to capitulate. A correspondence between the two generals was immediately opened, which ended in the surrender of the army and of the territory of Michigan.

7. It is impossible to describe the indignation of the soldiers and citizens, when they saw themselves delivered, by the authority of one man, into the power of an enemy whom they supposed they might easily have conquered. Many believed him either a traitor or coward. An event so disgraceful, occurring in a quarter where success was confidently anticipated, caused throughout the union the greatest mortification and amazement. Stung by disappointment, all united in censuring general Hull. His greatest, perhaps his only fault, was want of decision and energy.

8. The people of Ohio and Kentucky were alarmed,

Nearly ten thousand citizens made a tender of their services, and a part of them, placed under the command of general William H. Harrison, marched towards the territory of Michigan. But great and numerous were the difficulties encountered; the volunteers were unwilling to submit to the wholesome restraints of discipline; and winter arrived before any important undertaking could be accomplished. Several incursions were made into the country of the savages, who, instigated by British agents, and by a celebrated Indian prophet, and commanded by Tecumseh, a gallant warrior, had become almost universally hostile.

9. For the purpose of invading Canada, in another quarter, an army of regulars and militia were assembled on the northern frontier of New-York. It was far less numerous than the government had anticipated. So happy was the condition of even the poorest class of American citizens, that but few could be induced to enlist as soldiers. And in some of the states the plausible doctrine was maintained, that the officers of the general government have no power over the militia, until called into service and consigned to their authority, by the state executive, and that even then they cannot be compelled to march beyond the boundary of the republic. Several governors actually withheld their militia, when called for by the president, and thus dimininished the amount of one species of force upon which the general government had relied.

10. General Van Rensselaer, of the New-York militia, being the senior officer on that frontier, had the command of these troops, which were called the army of the centre. His headquarters were at Lewistown, on the river Niagara, and on the opposite side was Queenstown, a fortified British post. The militia displaying great eagerness to be led against the enemy, the general determined to cross over to Queenstown. The first attempt was defeated by tempestuous weather. On the 13th of October, a party, led by colonel Van Rensselaer, effected a landing, although opposed by a British force stationed on the bank. The colonel was severely wounded, but the troops, under captains Ogilvie and Wool, advanced to storm the fort. They gained possession, but, at the moment of success, general Brock arrived, from a neighboring post, with a reinforcement of six hundred men. These, although the most numerous, were gallantly driven back by the American troops. In attempting to rally them, general Brock was killed.

11. General Van Rensselaer, who had previously crossed over, now returned to hasten the embarkation of the rear division. Those who had lately shown such eagerness to meet the enemy, now utterly refused to pass beyond the national boundary. He entreated and remonstrated, but in vain. Meanwhile the enemy, having received another reinforcement, advanced to attack the Americans in the fort. A desperate and bloody conflict ensued, of which the militia were calm spectators. In the end, the British were completely victorious. Of one thousand men, who crossed into Canada, but few effected their escape.

12. Soon after, general Van Rensselaer retired from the service and was succeeded by general Alexander Smyth, of Virginia. In a turgid address to the "Men of New-York," he announced that, in a few days, he should plant the American standard in Canada, and invited them to share in the danger and glory of the enterprise. His force was increased, by those who obeyed his call, to 4500 men. The morning of the 28th of November was assigned as the time for crossing. So tardy were the movements of the troops, that until afternoon, the first division was not ready to leave the American shore. The enemy appeared in force on the opposite bank; a council of officers decided that it was inexpedient at that time to cross; and the troops were ordered to debark. They were disappointed and dissatisfied; but their clamor was appeased by the assurance that another attempt would speedily be made.

13. The next day, they received orders to be in readiness to embark on the first of December. But their first disappointment had sensibly damped their ardor. At the appointed hour, the boats were not ready to move; and when ready, but 1500 men were found willing to cross. A council of war decided unanimously against proceeding, and again the troops were ordered to debark. The plan of invading Canada was abandoned for the season. The blame of these failures was attributed, by the soldiers, to their commander; and so highly were they exasperated, that, for several days, his life was in danger from their fury.

14. The army of the north, which was under the immediate command of general Dearborn, was stationed at Greenbush, near Albany, and at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain. From the latter post, a detachment marched a short distance into Canada, surprised a small body of British and Indians, and destroyed a considerable quantity of public stores. Other movements were anxiously ex-

pected by the people; but after the misfortunes at Detroit and Niagara, the general deemed it inexpedient to engage in any important enterprise.

15. Thus ended the campaign of 1812. Although, on many occasions, extraordinary gallantry had been displayed, yet nothing was accomplished, and the losses sustained were numerous and heavy. Those who approved of the declaration of war felt disappointed, mortified, and dejected. They attributed most of the misfortunes of the country to the conduct of the federalists, whom they accused of endeavoring to prevent enlistments into the army, and of maintaining the most pernicious doctrines in relation to the militia. The federalists, on the other hand, attributed these repeated failures to the imbecility of the administration, and to the unwise selection of military officers. They assumed a bolder tone of censure, and evinced a more determined spirit of opposition.

16. But while, on land, defeat and disgrace attended the arms of the republic, on the ocean, where the injuries which led to the war had been inflicted, they gained a rich harvest of victory and glory. Upon the declaration of war, the American officers and seamen glowed with ardor to avenge the sufferings of their impressed fellow-citizens, and to vindicate the honor of the republican flag. Those ships of war, which were ready for sea, immediately sailed in search of the enemy.

17. On the 19th of August, captain Hull, who commanded the Constitution of forty-four guns, descried a British frigate. His crew, giving three cheers, requested to be placed alongside of their antagonist. For three quarters of an hour, the latter endeavored, by skilful manœuvering, to obtain the advantage of position. Defeated in this, she advanced towards the Constitution, firing broadsides at intervals. When she had approached within half pistol shot, a tremendous cannonade burst upon her from the American frigate. In thirty minutes, every mast and nearly every spar being shot away, she struck her flag.

18. She was found to be the Guerriere, of thirty-eight guns, commanded by captain Dacres. Of her crew, fifty were killed and sixty-four wounded. She had received so much injury that it was thought to be impossible to get her into port, and she was burned. The injury sustained by the Constitution was slight; of her crew, seven were killed and seven wounded. Although she carried a few

more guns than her antagonist, yet the immense disparity of effect clearly demonstrated the superior skill of the American seamen. Captain Hull, on his return to the United States, was welcomed with enthusiasm, by his grateful and admiring countrymen, who conferred upon him those honors and distinctions most dear to the patriot and hero.

19. But this was the first only of a series of naval victories. On the 18th of October, captain Jones, in the Wasp, of eighteen guns, captured the Frolic, of twenty-two, after a bloody conflict of three quarters of an hour. In this action, the Americans obtained a victory over a force decidedly superior. On their part, but eight were killed and wounded; on that of the enemy, about eighty! On the 25th, the frigate United States, commanded by captain Decatur, encountered and captured the British frigate Macedonian. The former carried a few guns the most, but the disparity of loss was astonishingly great. On the part of the enemy, a hundred and four were killed and wounded; on that of the Americans, but eleven! The Wasp was unfortunately captured, soon after her victory, by a British ship of the line; the United States brought her prize safely to New-York.

20. A fourth naval battle was fought, and a fourth victory gained, on the 29th of December. On that day, the Constitution, of forty-four guns, then commanded by captain Bainbridge, captured the British frigate Java, of thirty-eight. The combat continued more than three hours. The Java was reduced to a wreck; of her crew one hundred and sixty-one were killed and wounded; of that of the Constitution, thirty-four.

21. These successive victories were peculiarly gratifying to the nation; they were gained, in the midst of disasters on land, and by that class of citizens whose rights had been violated: they were gained over a people claiming to be lords of the sea, whom long and continued success had rendered haughty and insolent, and who had confidently boasted that the whole American navy would soon be swept from the ocean.

22. Many British merchantmen were likewise captured by the American navy; and privateers, issuing from almost every port, and many of them bearing flags inscribed "Free Trade and Sailor's Rights," were remarkably successful. The number of prizes made during the first seven months of the war, exceeded five hundred.

23. In the autumn of this year, the quadrennial period for the election of president and vice-president again recurred. The candidates for president were, the incumbent, James Madison of Virginia, and De Witt Clinton of New-York; for vice-president, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, and Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania. Those who were opposed to the war, supported Mr. Clinton and Mr. Ingersoll; and they were joined by many who believed that, should the former be elected president, and should he find it impractible to make an honorable peace, he would call forth the resources, and direct the arms of the republic, with more decision and energy. Great exertions were made by the partizans of the opposing candidates, and the passions of the people, especially in the middle and northern states, were highly excited. Of the electoral votes given, Mr. Madison received one hundred and twenty-eight, and Mr. Gerry one hundred and thirty-one, and were elected. Mr. Clinton received eighty-nine, and Mr. Ingersoll eighty-six.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1813.

At the commencement of the session of congress, held in the autumn of 1812, the president, in his message, stated that, immediately after the declaration of war, he communicated to the British government the terms on which its progress might be arrested; that these terms were, the repeal of the orders in council, the discharge of American seamen, and the abandonment of the practice of impressment; and that the ministry had declined to accede to his offers.

2. He also stated that, at an early period of the war, he had received official information of the repeal of the orders in council; that two propositions for an armistice had been made to him, both of which he had rejected, as they could not have been accepted without conceding to Great Britain the right of impressment.

3. The rejection of these propositions was approved by the national representatives, who, far from abandoning the ground they had taken, adopted more vigorous measures for the prosecution of the war. The bounty, and the

wages of soldiers, were increased. The president was authorized to raise twenty additional regiments of infantry, to issue treasury notes, and to borrow money. Provision was also made for building four ships of the line, six frigates, and as many vessels of war on the great lakes as the public service might require.

4. So great was the desire of the citizens of the western country to regain possession of the territory of Michigan, that, in order to effect it, general Harrison resolved to undertake a winter campaign. General Winchester, with a portion of the western army, proceeded in advance to Frenchtown, a village on the river Raisin, not far from Detroit. A British party stationed in the village was attacked, routed, and entirely dispersed.

5. The Americans encamped near the field of battle, a part of them being protected by close garden pickets. Although near an enemy's post, but little precaution was taken to prevent a surprise. Early in the morning of the 22d of January, they were attacked by a large force of British and Indians, the former commanded by colonel Procter, the latter by the chiefs Roundhead and Splitlog. The troops in the open field were thrown into disorder. General Winchester and other officers, made an ineffectual attempt to rally them. They fled, but while attempting to escape were mostly killed by the Indians. The general and colonel Lewis were made prisoners.

6. The troops behind the pickets maintained the contest with undaunted bravery. At length colonel Proctor assured general Winchester, that if the remainder of the Americans would immediately surrender, they should be protected from massacre; but otherwise he would set fire to the village, and would not be responsible for the conduct of the savages. Intimidated by this threat, general Winchester sent an order to the troops to surrender, which they obeyed.

7. Colonel Proctor, leaving the wounded without a guard, marched back immediately to Malden. The Indians accompanied them a few miles, but returned early the next morning. Deeds of horror followed. The wounded officers were dragged from the houses, killed and scalped in the streets. The buildings were set on fire. Some who attempted to escape were forced back into the flames. Others were put to death by the tomahawk, and left shockingly mangled in the highway. The infamy of this butchery should not fall upon the perpetrators alone. It

must rest equally upon those who instigated them to hostility, by whose side they fought, who were able, and were bound by a solemn engagement to restrain them.

8. The battle and massacre at Frenchtown clothed Kentucky and Ohio in mourning. Other volunteers, indignant at the treachery and cruelty of their foes, hastened to the aid of Harrison. He marched to the rapids of Miami, where he erected a fort, which he called fort Meigs, in honor of the governor of Ohio. On the first of May, it was invested by a large number of Indians, and by a party of British troops from Malden, the whole commanded by colonel Proctor.

9. Five days afterwards, general Clay, at the head of 1200 Kentuckians, made an attempt to raise the siege. Dividing his force into several parties, and making an impetuous onset, he drove the besiegers from their works. His troops, supposing the victory complete and disregarding the orders of their commander, dispersed into the woods. The enemy, returning from their flight, obtained an easy victory. Of the Americans, two or three hundred escaped into the fort; about three hundred were killed or made prisoners; the remainder fled to the nearest settlements. The enemy sustained considerable loss.

10. The fort continued to be defended with bravery and skill. The Indians, unaccustomed to sieges, became weary and discontented. On the 8th of May, notwithstanding the entreaties of their chief, Tecumseh, they deserted their allies. On the 9th, the enemy, despairing of success, made a precipitate retreat. General Harrison, leaving general Clay in command, returned to Ohio for reinforcements; but in this quarter active operations were not resumed until a squadron had been built and prepared for action on Lake Erie.

11. At Sackett's Harbor, on the northern frontier, a body of troops had been assembled under the command of general Dearborn, and great exertions were made, by commodore Chauncey, to build and equip a squadron, on Lake Ontario, sufficiently powerful to contend with that of the enemy. By the 25th of April, the naval preparations were so far completed that the general, and 1700 troops, were conveyed across the lake to the attack of York, the capital of Upper Canada.

12. On the 27th, an advanced party, led by brigadier-general Pike, who was born in a camp and bred a soldier from his birth, landed, although opposed, at the water's

edge, by a superior force. After a short but severe conflict, the enemy were driven to their fortifications. The rest of the troops having landed, the whole party pressed forward, carried the first battery by assault, and were moving towards the main works, when the enemy's magazine blew up, with a tremendous explosion, hurling upon the advancing troops immense quantities of stone and timber.

13. Numbers were killed, the gallant Pike received a mortal wound; the troops halted for a moment, but recovering from the shock, again pressed forward and soon gained possession of the town. Of the British troops, one hundred were killed, nearly three hundred were wounded, and the same number made prisoners. Of the Americans, three hundred and twenty were killed and wounded, and nearly all of them by the explosion of the magazine. The flag which waved over the fort was carried to the dying Pike; at his desire, it was placed under his head, when, with the smile of triumph on his lips, he expired.

14. The object of the expedition attained, the squadron and troops returned to Sackett's Harbor, whence, the wounded and prisoners being landed and other troops taken on board, it sailed to Fort George, at the head of the lake. After a warm engagement, the enemy abandoned, and the Americans entered the fort. The fugitives retired to the heights, at the head of Burlington bay. On their retreat, they were joined by a detachment from Fort Erie and Chippeway. Two brigades, under generals Chandler and Winder, were despatched in pursuit. On the evening of the 5th of June, they encamped at Stoney Creek, in the vicinity of the enemy, who, considering their situation desperate, turned upon their pursuers and attacked them in the night.

15. The Americans received them with coolness; but such was the darkness, that general Chandler, intending to place himself at the head of his artillery, threw himself into the midst of a British party. A few minutes afterwards, the same mistake was committed by general Winder. Satisfied with the capture of these officers, and a few other prisoners, the enemy made a precipitate retreat. The American troops returned to Fort George. This misfortune was soon followed by another. Lieutenant-colonel Boerstler, having been sent with 500 men, to disperse a body of the enemy collected at the Beaver Dams, was surrounded, and the whole detachment made prisoners.

16. While the greater part of the American army was

thus employed in Canada, the British made an attack upon the important post of Sackett's Harbor. On the 27th of May, their squadron appeared before the town. Alarm guns instantly assembled the citizens of the neighborhood. General Brown, of the New-York militia, commanded in chief, his whole force amounting to about one thousand men. By his orders, a slight breastwork was hastily thrown up, at the only place where the enemy could land. Behind this, he placed the militia. the regulars under colonel Backus forming a second line.

17. On the morning of the 29th, one thousand British troops landed from the squadron. They advanced toward the breastwork. The militia, seized with a sudden panic, fled in confusion. Colonel Mills, in a vain attempt to rally them, was mortally wounded. The regulars, after a spirited resistance, were compelled to retire toward the town, but in their retreat they took possession of the houses on the road. From these coverts they poured so destructive a fire upon the British column, that it halted and fell back. General Brown, by a stratagem, converted this slight check into a precipitate flight. Collecting the panic struck militia, he directed their course along a road, which, while it led from the village, appeared to the British commander to lead to the place of landing. Perceiving them marching with great speed, he supposed that their object was to cut off his retreat, and re-embarked so hastily as to leave behind most of his wounded. General Brown, in recompense for his services, was appointed a brigadier in the regular army.

18. Meanwhile, upon the sea coast, a distressing and predatory war was carried on, by large detachments from the powerful navy of Great Britain. One squadron, stationed in Delaware bay, captured and burned every merchant vessel which came within its reach. The inhabitants of Lewiston, in the state of Delaware, having refused to sell provisions to the enemy, the village was bombarded and several attempts were made to land, but they were defeated by the militia.

19. Early in the spring, another and more powerful squadron arrived in Chesapeake bay. It was commanded by admiral Cockburn, who, departing from the usual modes of honorable warfare, directed his efforts principally against unoffending citizens and peaceful villages. The farm-houses and gentlemen's seats near the shore were plundered, and the cattle driven away or wantonly slaughtered.

Frenchtown, Havre de Grace, Fredericktown, and Georgetown were sacked and burned. Norfolk was saved from a similar fate, by the determined bravery of a small force stationed on Craney Island, in the harbor. A furious attack was made upon Hampton, which, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of its small garrison, was captured, and the unfortunate inhabitants suffered all which a brutal and unrestrained soldiery could inflict.

20. The ocean, in the mean time, had been the theatre of sanguinary conflicts, in which the victors gained untarnished laurels. Captain Lawrence, in the sloop of war Hornet, discovering, in the neutral port of San Salvador, a British sloop of war of superior force, challenged her commander to meet him at sea. The challenge being declined, captain Lawrence blockaded the port until forced by a ship of the line to retire.

21. Soon after, on the 23d of February, the Hornet met the British brig Peacock, of about equal force. A fierce combat ensued. In less than fifteen minutes, the Peacock struck her colors, displaying, at the same time, a signal of distress. The victors hastened to the relief of the vanquished, and the same strength which had been exerted to conquer was now exerted to save. Their efforts were but partially successful. She sunk before all her crew could be removed, carrying down nine British seamen and three brave and generous Americans. In the battle, the loss of the Hornet was but one killed and two wounded; that of the Peacock was never ascertained.

22. On his return to the United States, captain Lawrence was promoted to the command of the frigate Chesapeake, then in the harbor of Boston. For several weeks, the British frigate Shannon, of equal force but having a selected crew, had been cruising before the port; and captain Brook, her commander, had announced his wish to meet, in single combat, an American frigate. Inflamed by this challenge, captain Lawrence, although his crew was just enlisted, and his officers were strangers to him and to each other, set sail, on the first of June, in pursuit of the Shannon.

23. Towards evening of the same day, they met, and instantly engaged, with unexampled fury. In a very few minutes, and in quick succession, the sailing master of the Chesapeake was killed, captain Lawrence and three lieutenants were severely wounded, her rigging was so cut to pieces that she fell on board the Shannon, her chest of

arms blew up, captain Lawrence received a second and mortal wound and was carried below; at this instant, the position of the ships being favorable, captain Brook, at the head of his marines, gallantly boarded the Chesapeake, when, every officer who could take command being killed or wounded, resistance ceased, and the American flag was struck by the enemy.

24. That fortune favored the Shannon cannot be doubted. That the event would have been the same had fortune favored neither, is rendered probable by the astonishing effect of her fire. This unexpected defeat impelled the Americans to seek for circumstances consoling to their pride, and in the journals of the day, many such were stated to have preceded and attended the action. But nothing could allay their grief at the fall of the youthful and intrepid Lawrence. His previous victory and magnanimous conduct had rendered him the favorite of the nation, and he was lamented with sorrow, deep, sincere, and lasting. When carried below, he was asked if the colors should be struck. "No," he replied, "they shall wave while I live." When the fate of the ship was decided, his proud spirit was broken. He became delirious from excess of mental and bodily suffering. Whenever able to speak, he would exclaim, "Don't give up the ship!" an expression consecrated by his countrymen; and he uttered but few other words during the four days that he survived his defeat.

25. This victory was not achieved without loss. Of the crew of the Shannon, twenty-four were killed and fifty-six wounded. Of that of the Chesapeake, forty-eight were killed and nearly one hundred wounded. Great was the exultation of the enemy. Victories over the frigates of other nations were occurrences too common to excite emotion; but the capture of an American frigate was considered a glorious epoch in the naval history of Great Britain. The honors and rewards bestowed upon captain Brook were such as had never before been received but by the conqueror of a squadron. These demonstrations of triumph were inadvertent confessions of American superiority; and were, to the vanquished themselves, sources of triumph and consolation.

26. The next encounter at sea was between the American brig Argus and the British brig Pelican. The latter was of superior force, and was victorious. Soon after, the American brig Enterprise, commanded by lieutenant

Burrows, captured the British brig Boxer, commanded by captain Blyth. These vessels were of equal force, but the greater effect of the fire of the Enterprise furnished to the Americans another proof of the superior skill of their seamen. Both commanders were killed in the action, and were buried, each by the other's side, in Portland.

27. The events of the war again call our attention to the northwestern frontier. While each nation was busily employed in equipping a squadron on Lake Erie, general Clay remained inactive at Fort Meigs. About the last of July, a large number of British and Indians appeared before the fort, hoping to entice the garrison to a general action in the field. After waiting a few days without succeeding, they decamped, and proceeded to Fort Stephenson, on the river Sandusky. This fort was little more than a picketing surrounded by a ditch; and the garrison consisted of but 160 men, who were commanded by major Croghan, a youth of twenty-one. On the first of August, it was invested by 500 regulars and 800 Indians.

28. After a cannonade, which continued two days, the enemy, in the evening, supposing a breach had been made, advanced to assault the works. Anticipating this, major Croghan had planted a six pounder, the only piece of cannon in the fort, in a position to enfilade the ditch. It was loaded with grape-shot and slugs, and was discharged the instant the assailants arrived before it. The British commander and many of his men were killed, and many others severely wounded. The remainder in haste and disorder, retreated to their former position, and at dawn of day retired to Malden. The youthful Croghan, for his valor and good conduct, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He and his brave companions received the thanks of congress; and to evince their respect for his virtues, the ladies of Chillicothe presented to him an elegant sword.

29. In the mean time, by the exertions of commodore Perry, an American squadron had been prepared for service on Lake Erie. It consisted of nine small vessels, carrying in all fifty-four guns. A British squadron had also been built and equipped, under the superintendence of commodore Barclay. It consisted of six vessels mounting sixty-three guns.

30. Commodore Perry, immediately sailing, offered battle to his adversary. On the tenth of September, the British commander, having the wind in his favor, left the harbor of Malden, to accept the offer. In a few hours, the wind

shifted, giving the Americans the advantage. Perry, forming the line of battle, hoisted his flag, on which were inscribed the words of the dying Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship." Loud huzzas from all the vessels proclaimed the animation with which this motto inspired their patriotic crews.

31. About noon, the firing commenced; but the wind being light, the Lawrence, the commodore's flag-ship, was the only American vessel that could, at first, engage in close action. For two hours, she contended alone with two vessels, each nearly her equal in force. All but seven of her crew were either killed or wounded, and she, by the damage she had received, was rendered wholly unmanageable. The wind springing up, captain Elliot was at length enabled to bring the Niagara into action. To this ship, commodore Perry, sailing in an open boat through the midst of the fire, transferred his flag. Again the combat raged with undiminished fury. In a short time, one of the British vessels surrendered, and soon after another; and the rest of the American squadron now joining in the action, the victory was rendered decisive and complete. At four o'clock, the brave and fortunate commander despatched to general Harrison, at Fort Meigs, this laconic epistle: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours."

32. Great was the joy which this brilliant victory occasioned throughout the union. That it was achieved over a superior force; that it was the first ever gained over a squadron; that it was entirely decisive; that it opened the way to the recovery of all that had been lost by the defeat of general Hull,—were circumstances which threw every other victory into the shade, and cast the brightest lustre upon the characters of the heroes who had gained it. At every place that he visited, the gallant Perry received the most flattering proofs of a nation's gratitude and love.

33. As soon as general Harrison, who had been joined by governor Shelby with a large body of Kentucky militia, received intelligence of this victory, he hastened to the lake, and was conveyed by the vessels to Malden. The British commander, anticipating this movement, had abandoned that place, which, on the 28th of September, was occupied, without opposition, by the American army.

34. The enemy, passing Detroit in their retreat, ascended the river Thames, to the Moravian villages. They were pursued by general Harrison, and, on the 5th of October,

brought to action. His force being greatly superior, a complete victory was easily and speedily gained. Six hundred, nearly the whole of the party, were made prisoners; Tecumseh, the celebrated Indian chief was killed; and all the posts that had been surrendered by general Hull were recovered from the enemy.

35. Leaving general Cass in command at Detroit, general Harrison, with part of the regular force, again embarked, on board the vessels, and, on the 24th, arrived at Buffalo, in New-York, intending to join the American army on the Niagara frontier. But a sufficient number of general officers having been assigned to that army, he received permission to return to his family.

36. Previous to the events just related, general Dearborn, in consequence of severe indisposition, was withdrawn from active service, and general Wilkinson appointed to command the army of the centre, which comprised about 7000 men. Having received orders, from the secretary of war, to descend the St. Lawrence and attack Montreal, he directed the scattered detachments to assemble at Grenadier-Island, on lake Ontario. Such were the difficulties attending the concentration of the troops, and such, perhaps the want of vigor in the commander, that the flotilla, upon which they embarked, did not get under way until the 5th of November.

37. Their progress was impeded by parties which the enemy, at every convenient position, had stationed on the Canada shore. To disperse these, a body of troops, under the command of general Brown, was landed, and directed to march in advance of the boats. At Chrystler's fields, on the 11th of November, a body of the enemy, of equal force, was encountered. In the battle which ensued, both fought with resolute bravery, and both claimed the victory. The loss of the Americans was greatest, but they drove the enemy from their position, and enabled the flotilla to pass unmolested.

38. The next day it arrived at St. Regis. At this place, general Hampton, who commanded the troops at Plattsburg, had been ordered to meet the main army, and no doubt had been entertained of his disposition and ability to comply with the order. But here general Wilkinson, to his surprise and mortification, was informed that the contemplated junction would not take place. The project of attacking Montreal was abandoned, and the army under Wilkinson, marching to French Mills, there encamped for the winter.

39. This abortive issue of the campaign occasioned murmurs throughout the nation. The causes which led to it have never been fully developed. The severest censure fell upon general Armstrong, who was secretary of war, and upon general Hampton. The latter soon after resigned his commission in the army, and general Izard was selected to command the post at Plattsburg.

40. In the progress of our narrative, some events have been passed over, which will now be related. In the early part of this year, the emperor of Russia offered his mediation to the two powers at war. On the part of the United States, the offer was promptly accepted, and Messrs. Adams, Gallatin, and Bayard, were appointed commissioners to negotiate, at St. Petersburg, a peace under the proffered mediation.

41. On the 24th of May, congress was convened by proclamation of the president. Laws were enacted imposing a direct tax of three millions of dollars; authorizing the collection of various internal duties; providing for a loan of seven and a half million of dollars; and prohibiting the merchant vessels of the United States from sailing under British licenses. Near the close of the session, a committee, appointed to inquire into the subject, made a long report upon the spirit and manner in which the war had been conducted by the enemy. Many proofs were presented of shameful departures from the rules of warfare observed by civilized nations.

42. In September, commodore Chauncey made two cruises upon lake Ontario, and repeatedly offered battle to the enemy's squadron, which was superior in force; but Sir James Yeo, the British commander, intimidated by the result of the battle on lake Erie, retired before him. On one occasion, however, in a running fight, his ships sustained considerable injury.

43. In the same month, captain Rogers, who commanded the frigate President, returned from a long cruise, having captured eleven merchantmen; but he met no armed vessels, the capture of which could enhance his reputation. Captain Porter, in the Essex rode triumphant in the Pacific ocean, annoying the trade of the enemy and protecting that of the republic.

44. The Indians at the southern extremity of the union had imbibed the same hostile spirit as those at the Northwestern. They had been visited by Tecumseh, and, by his eloquence, persuaded, that the great Spirit required

them to unite and attempt the extirpation of the whites, and had promised them victory as the reward of their exertions. In the fall of 1812, a cruel war was carried on, by the Creeks and Seminoles, against the frontier inhabitants of Georgia. General Jackson at the head of 2500 volunteers from Tennessee, marched into the country of the Indians. They, overawed by his presence, desisted for a time from hostility; but, after his return, their animosity burst forth with increased and fatal violence.

45. Dreading their cruelty, about three hundred men, women, and children sought safety in Fort Mimms, in the Tensaw settlement. Although frequent warnings of an intended attack had been given them, yet, at noonday, on the 30th of August, they were surprised by a party of six hundred Indians, who with axes cut their way into the fort, and drove the people into the houses which it enclosed. To these they set fire. Many persons were burned, and many killed by the tomahawk. Only seventeen escaped to carry the horrid tidings to the neighboring stations.

46. The whites resolved on vengeance. Again general Jackson, at the head of 3500 militia of Tennessee, marched into the southern wilderness. A detachment under general Coffee, encountering, at Tallushatchie, a body of Indians, a sanguinary conflict ensued. The latter fought with desperation, neither giving nor receiving quarter, until nearly every warrior had perished.

47. At Talladega, another battle was fought, in which three hundred Indians perished. The rest of the party, exceeding seven hundred, fled. General Jackson's provisions being exhausted, he was unable to pursue them. While on his return to the settlements, to obtain a supply, his troops became refractory and even mutinous. Nearly all returned to their homes; but to the small number that remained were soon added a reinforcement of one thousand mounted volunteers.

48. At the head of this force, he marched to Emuckfaw, within a bend of the Tallapoosa, where a body of the enemy were posted. To several skirmishes succeeded a general battle, in which the whites were victorious, but sustained considerable loss. For the relief of the wounded, Jackson returned to Fort Strother, where the volunteers were discharged. General White from East Tennessee, and general Floyd from Georgia, led separate expeditions against the Indians, and were victorious in every combat.

So enraged were the savages, that but few would accept of quarter or seek safety in retreat.

49. Yet still was the spirit of the Creeks unsubdued, and their faith in victory unshaken. With no little sagacity and skill, they selected and fortified another position on the Tallapoosa, called by themselves Tohopeka, and by the whites, Horse-shoe Bend. Here nearly a thousand warriors, animated with a fierce and determined resolution, were collected. Three thousand men, commanded by general Jackson, marched to attack this post. To prevent escape, a detachment, under general Coffee, encircled the Bend. The main body, keeping within it, advanced to the fortress. For a few minutes, the opposing forces were engaged, muzzle to muzzle, at the port holes. Soon the troops, leaping over the walls, mingled with the savages. The combat was furious and sanguinary. The Indians, fleeing at length to the river, beheld the troops on the opposite bank. Returning, they fought with increased fury and desperation, and continued to resist until night. six hundred warriors were killed; four only yielded themselves prisoners; the remaining three hundred escaped. Of the whites, fifty-five were killed, and one hundred and forty-six wounded.

50. It was expected that another stand would be made, by the Indians, at a place called the Hickory-ground. General Jackson marched thither in April. The principal chiefs came out to meet him, and among them was Wetherford, a half blood, distinguished equally for his talents and cruelty. "I am in your power," said he, "do with me what you please. I commanded at Fort Mimms. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. There was a time when I had a choice; I have none now, even hope is ended. Once I could animate my warriors; but I cannot animate the dead. They can no longer hear my voice; their bones are at Tallushatchie, Talladega, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. While there was a chance of success, I never supplicated peace; but my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation and myself." Peace was concluded, and the brave general Jackson and his troops enjoyed an honorable but short repose.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1814.

CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

In the winter of 1813-14, the fifteenth congress held a second session. To increase the number, and to add to the efficiency of the army, several laws were passed, by one of which the enormous bounty of one hundred and twenty-four dollars was offered to recruits. The president was authorized to borrow twenty-five millions of dollars, and to issue treasury notes to the amount of five millions.

2. Before the termination of the session, a communication was received from the British government, declining to treat under the mediation of Russia, and proposing a direct negotiation at London or Gottenburgh. The proposition was accepted by the American government, who chose Gottenburgh as the place of meeting, for which Ghent was afterwards substituted; and Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell, were joined with the commissioners already in Europe. Mr. Clay, in consequence, relinquished the station of speaker of the house of representatives, and was succeeded by Langdon Cheves, of South-Carolina.

3. Early in the spring, the American army marched from French-Mills; a part of the troops, under the command of general Wilkinson, proceeding to Plattsburgh, and the remainder, under general Brown, returning to Sackett's Harbor. Near the last of March, general Wilkinson penetrated into Canada, and attacked a body of the enemy, occupying a large stone mill, on the river La Cole. He was repulsed with considerable loss. This defeat detracted from his already diminished reputation. He was removed from command, and general Izard appointed to succeed him.

4. For three months, the armies of both nations continued inactive. Meanwhile information was received of the stupendous events which had recently occurred in Europe. The emperor of France, having been arrested in his victorious career and sustained defeat after defeat, was compelled to abdicate his throne, and retire to the island of Elba. Louis the XVIII was proclaimed king; and Great Britain, at peace with all the world but the United States, was enabled to direct against them alone

the immense force which had been employed to crush her rival. She delayed not to use the advantages afforded by her good fortune. From the ports of conquered France, ships of war and transports bearing veteran and victorious troops, sailed to the American continent, some destined to the Niagara frontier, and some to the Atlantic coast.

5. These events could not be viewed with indifference by the American people. The friends of the administration anticipated a severer conflict, and prepared for greater sacrifices and greater sufferings. Its opposers were encouraged to make more vigorous efforts to wrest the reins of authority from men who, they asserted, had shown themselves incompetent to hold them. These efforts, although condemned by a great majority of the people, diminished in no slight degree, the strength of the republic.

6. In the beginning of July, general Brown, who had been assiduously employed in disciplining his troops, crossed the Niagara with about 3000 men, and took possession, without opposition, of Fort Erie. In a strong position, at Chippewa, a few miles distant, was intrenched an equal number of British troops commanded by general Riall. On the 4th, general Brown approached their works. The next day, the two armies met in the open field. The conflict was obstinate and bloody. The Americans were victorious; and the enemy, having sustained the loss of five hundred men, sought safety behind their intrenchments.

7. This decisive victory, achieved after so many reverses, was hailed as an omen of future success. Soon afterwards, general Riall, abandoning his works, retired to the heights of Burlington. Here lieutenant-general Drummond, with a large reinforcement, joined him, and assuming the command, led back the army towards the American camp. On the 25th, was fought the battle of Bridgewater, which began before sunset and continued until midnight.

8. This battle was fought near the cataract of Niagara, whose roar was silenced by the thunder of cannon and the din of arms, but was distinctly heard during the pauses of the fight. At intervals the moon shone brightly, but often her light was obscured. Against a superior force, the Americans, for several hours, contended with various success. During the first part of the engagement, they were sorely annoyed, into whatever part of the field they might drive the enemy or be driven, by the British artillery, stationed on a commanding eminence. "Can you storm

that battery?" said general Ripley to colonel Miller. "I'll try, sir," was the laconic answer. At the word of command his men, with steady courage, ascended the hill, advanced to the muzzles of the cannon, killed with the bayonet several artillery-men, on the point of firing their pieces, and drove the remainder before them.

9. Both parties were instantly reinforced, and the enemy made a daring effort to regain their cannon. They were repulsed, but quickly repeated the attempt. Nearly all the opposing forces gathered around this position, and to possess it was the sole object of both armies. Again the enemy were repulsed; but again they renewed the effort. After a violent conflict, they were a third time driven from the hill. The firing then ceased; the British troops were withdrawn; and the Americans were left in quiet possession of the field.

10. Generals Brown and Scott having both been severely wounded, the command devolved upon general Ripley. He remained a few hours upon the hill, collected the wounded, and then returned unmolested to the camp. The number of the killed and wounded proves the bravery of the combatants, and the severity of the conflict. On the American side it was 743; on the British, one hundred less; and of the latter 117 more were missing than of the former. The British, therefore, besides losing their position, sustained the greater loss of men.

11. General Ripley found his force so much weakened, that he deemed it prudent again to occupy Fort Erie. On the 4th of August, it was invested by general Drummond with 5000 troops. In defending it, no less bravery and skill were requisite, and no less were displayed, than in contending in the field. In the night between the 14th and 15th, the besiegers made an assault upon the fort, which was repelled with conspicuous gallantry by the garrison, the former losing more than nine hundred men, the latter but eighty-four.

12. The siege was still continued. On the 2d of September, general Brown, having recovered from his wounds, threw himself into the fort and took command of the garrison. For their fate, great anxiety was felt by the nation, which was, however, in some degree, removed by the march from Plattsburgh of five thousand men to their relief. On the 17th, a sortie was made by the besieged, general Porter of the New-York militia, and general Miller of the regular army, commanding divisions. The bravery

of the troops equalled that which they had displayed in the recent contests. After an hour of close fighting, they returned to the fort, having killed, wounded, and taken one thousand of the enemy. Their loss was severe, amounting to more than five hundred.

13. On the 21st of September, the forty-ninth day of the siege, general Drummond withdrew his forces, relieving the garrison from their toil, which had been incessant, and from their danger, which had been encountered without fear. Seldom have troops deserved higher praise of their country. On the 9th of October, general Izard arrived with the reinforcement from Plattsburgh, and being senior officer, took the command. On the 18th, he marched, with his whole force, in pursuit of the enemy, whom he found at Chippewa, strongly posted in a fortified camp. After making several unsuccessful attempts to entice them into the field, he evacuated Canada, and placed his troops in winter quarters at Buffalo, Blackrock, and Batavia.

14. The march of the troops from Plattsburgh having left that post almost defenceless, the enemy determined to attack it by land, and, at the same time, to attempt the destruction of the American flotilla on Lake Champlain. On the 3d of September, Sir George Prevost, the governor-general of Canada, with an army of 14,000 men, most of whom had served in the wars of Europe, entered the territories of the United States. As soon as his object was ascertained, brigadier-general Macomb, the commander at Plattsburgh, called to his aid the militia of New-York and Vermont, who, with alacrity and without distinction of party, obeyed the call.

15. On the 6th, the enemy arrived at Plattsburgh, which is situated near Lake Champlain, on the northerly bank of the small river Saranac. On their approach, the American troops, who were posted on the opposite bank, tore up the planks of the bridges, with which they formed slight breastworks, and prepared to dispute the passage of the stream. Several attempts to cross it were made by the enemy, but they were uniformly defeated. From this time, until the 11th, the British army were employed in erecting batteries, while the American forces were every hour augmented by the arrival of volunteers and militia.

16. Early in the morning of that day, the British squadron, commanded by commodore Downie, appeared off the harbor of Plattsburgh, where that of the United States, commanded by commodore McDonough, lay at anchor

prepared for battle. The former carried ninety-five guns, and was manned with upwards of 1000 men, the latter carried eighty-six guns, and was manned with 820 men.

17. At nine o'clock the battle commenced. Seldom has the ocean witnessed a more furious encounter than now took place on the bosom of this transparent and peaceful lake. At the same moment, the enemy on land began a heavy cannonade upon the American lines, and attempted, at different places, to cross the Saranac. At a ford above the village the strife was hot and deadly. As often as the enemy advanced into the water, they received a destructive fire from the militia, and their dead bodies floated down the stream literally crimsoned with blood.

18. At half past eleven, the shout of victory, heard along the American lines, announced the result of the battle on the lake. A second British squadron had yielded to the prowess of American seamen. The cry animated to braver deeds their brethren on the land. Fainter became the efforts of the enemy. In the afternoon, they withdrew to their intrenchments. In the night, they began a precipitate retreat, and had fled eight miles before their departure was known in the American camp.

19. Upon the lake, the American loss was 110; the British 194, besides prisoners. On land, the American loss was 119; that of the British was estimated at 2500. In the latter number, however, were included more than five hundred British soldiers, who, preferring America to their native country, deserted from the retreating army. With these splendid victories closed the campaign on the northern frontier.

20. On the ocean, the republican flag maintained its high reputation. Victory was not always won; but defeat never occurred attended with dishonor. The Essex, commanded by captain Porter, after a bloody combat protracted longer than was necessary to vindicate his fame, struck to a British frigate and sloop of war, whose united force was much superior. The American sloop Peacock captured the Epervier of equal force. The sloop Wasp, commanded by captain Blakely, captured the Reindeer, and afterwards, in the same cruise, sunk the Avon, each of superior force. She made several other prizes; but never returned into port. Darkness rests upon her fate. She probably foundered at sea. The republic, with deep and sincere grief, mourned the loss of her gallant crew.

21. The people of the middle and southern states, an-

ticipating a great augmentation of the enemy's force, and uncertain where the blow would fall, made exertions to place every exposed position in a posture of defence. The citizens of New-York displayed extraordinary activity and zeal. Philadelphia and Baltimore were supposed to be in less danger, but additions were made to their fortifications. For the protection of Washington, a military district, embracing Maryland, Columbia, and a part of Virginia, was established, and the command of it given to general Winder, of Baltimore. One thousand regular troops were placed at his disposal, and he was authorized to call to his aid 15,000 militia.

22. In the beginning of August, the expected reinforcements, consisting of many vessels of war, and a large number of troops, arrived in the Chesapeake from Europe. Of this force several frigates and bomb vessels were ordered to ascend the Potomac; another division, under Sir Peter Parker, was directed to threaten Baltimore; the main body ascended the Patuxent as far as Benedict, where, on the 19th of August, five thousand men, commanded by general Ross, were landed.

23. In the mean time, general Winder had called on the militia to repair to his standard. They were exceedingly remiss in obeying the call. On the 22d, not more than two thousand had assembled. At the head of these, and of one thousand regulars, he took a position not far from the enemy, intending to prevent their progress into the country.

24. A particular account of the subsequent events will not be attempted. General Ross, marching through a scattered population, advanced towards Washington. The Americans retired before him. A stand was made near Bladensburgh. The militia fled on the approach of danger; but a body of seamen and marines, commanded by commodore Barney, not only maintained their ground, but compelled the enemy to give way. They rallied, however, immediately; outflanked the heroic band, put it to flight, and hastened forward.

25. The retreating forces were ordered to assemble on the heights near the capitol; and their they were joined by a body of Virginia militia. But general Winder, considering his force too weak to oppose effectual resistance, retreated to the heights of Georgetown. Washington, thus left defenceless, was deserted by most of the citizens.

26. On the 24th, at eight o'clock in the evening, the

enemy entered the city, and at nine, the capitol, president's house, and many other buildings, were set on fire. Valuable libraries, works of taste, and elegant specimens of the fine arts, were consigned to destruction. On the evening of the next day, the enemy left the city, and returned unmolested to Benedict; where, on the 30th, they embarked on board the transports. Their loss, during the incursion, including deserters, and such as died from fatigue on the march, exceeded eight hundred.

27. The capture of Washington reflected disgrace upon those by whom it ought to have been defended. The destruction of the national edifices attached a still darker stigma to the character of the enemy. The whole civilized world exclaimed against the act as a violation of the rules of modern warfare. The capitals of most of the European kingdoms had lately been in the power of an enemy; but in no instance had the conqueror been guilty of similar conduct. An indignant spirit pervaded the republic. The friends of the government were not only increased in number, but felt an additional motive to exert all their faculties to overcome the enemy of their country.

28. The squadron which, at the same time, ascended the Potomac, met with even less resistance than that which ascended the Patuxent. As soon as it arrived at Alexandria, the citizens proposed a capitulation; and the terms were speedily adjusted with the British commander. To purchase safety, they delivered up all their shipping; all the merchandize in the city, and all the naval and ordnance stores public and private. With a fleet of prizes, loaded with a rich booty, the enemy returned immediately to the ocean.

29. The success of the attack on Washington encouraged general Ross to undertake an expedition against Baltimore. On the 12th of September, he landed 5000 men on North Point, about fourteen miles from the city, to which he directed his march. Preparations for defence had already been made. The whole of the militia had been called into the field; the aged and the rich had voluntarily entered the ranks; and assistance had been obtained from Pennsylvania and Virginia.

30. General Smith, who commanded the American forces, detached general Striker, with three thousand men, to retard the progress of the enemy. The advanced parties met about eight miles from the city. In the skirmish which ensued general Ross was killed. The invaders,

however, under the command of colonel Brooke, continued to advance, and soon met and attacked the detachment under Striker. One of the militia regiments gave way. This communicated a panic to the others, and the general fell back to the heights, where, behind breastworks hastily erected, the main body of the Americans awaited an attack.

31. After landing the troops at North Point, the British fleet had sailed up the Petapsco and bombarded Fort McHenry and Fort Covington, which stand at the entrance into the harbor. The former was commanded by major Armistead, the latter by lieutenant Newcomb, of the navy. Both were gallantly defended, the fleet was repulsed, and the commander of the troops, finding that the naval force could afford no farther assistance, retreated, on the 14th, to North Point, and the next day re-embarked. Soon after, the fleet left Chesapeake bay, and part proceeded southward to convey the troops to the theatre of future operations and of unprecedented slaughter.

32. In the New-England states, a majority of the people were, from the first, opposed to the war; and as it restrained them from their most profitable pursuits; commerce and the fishieries, their dissatisfaction continued to increase. They complained that their peculiar interests were disregarded, and that the government, employing elsewhere the resources drawn from New-England, did not afford them that protection to which, as a part of the nation, they were entitled. The most zealous therefore recommended that, not only the militia but the revenue should be retained at home and employed for their own defence and protection.

33. The general court of Massachusetts proposed that a convention of delegates, from the New-England states, should assemble at Hartford to devise means to obtain redress of their grievances. To this proposition Connecticut and Rhode Island acceded. In December the convention met, consisting of delegates from those states, appointed by their legislatures; of two from New-Hampshire, and one from Vermont, appointed at county meetings. Their sittings were secret. Upon their adjournment, they published an address to the people, in which, in bold and forcible language, they enumerated the measures of the national government, supposed to be particularly detrimental to the interests of New-England, and of the commercial class of the nation, and proposed such amendments to the constitution as would prevent, in future, the adoption of similar measures.

34. In the fall, information was received that the American and British commissioners had met and held conferences at Ghent. Great Britain, rendered arrogant by her recent triumphs in Europe, by the capture of Washington, and by the boldness of the opposition, demanded terms which extinguished the hope of a speedy reconciliation. Congress shrunk not from the duty which the crisis imposed. Although the expenditures of the nation greatly exceeded the income; although its finances were in disorder, and its credit was impaired, yet the national legislature, with undaunted firmness, entered upon the task of furnishing the means to prosecute the war with increased vigor. The taxes were augmented, and new loans were authorized. The duties of secretary at war, from which post general Armstrong was removed, were assigned to Mr. Monroe, the secretary of state, and Mr. Dallas of Pennsylvania, was appointed secretary of the treasury.

35. The repose of general Jackson, and of the troops whom he commanded, was interrupted by the arrival at Pensacola, in August, of three British ships of war, bringing three hundred soldiers, and arms and ammunition to be distributed among the Indians of Florida. The troops were permitted, by the Spaniards, to take possession of the fort, and the commander issued a proclamation, indicating an intention of carrying on war against the adjacent parts of the republic.

36. General Jackson, with characteristic promptness, took instant and efficient measures for calling to his aid the patriotic militia, who had before been victorious under his banners. And having remonstrated in vain with the governor of Pensacola, for affording shelter and protection to the enemies of the United States, he, near the end of October, at the head of a body of regulars and two thousand mounted volunteers, marched against that place. A flag, sent to demand redress, was fired on from the batteries. He immediately marched into the city, stormed the fort, obtained entire possession, and compelled the British to evacuate Florida.

37. Returning to his head-quarters at Mobile, he there received intelligence that a powerful expedition was on the way to attack New-Orleans. Without delay, he marched with his troops to that city. He found it in a state of confusion and alarm. The militia, composed of men of all nations, was imperfectly organized. Many, feeling no attachment to the republic, had refused to enter

the ranks. No fortifications existed on the various routes by which the place could be approached; and fears were entertained that the reinforcements of militia, which were expected from Kentucky and Tennessee, could not arrive in time to take part in the contest.

38. Undismayed by the difficulties which surrounded him, general Jackson adopted the most decided and efficient means for the safety of this rich and important city. He visited in person every exposed point, and designated the positions to be fortified. He mingled with the citizens and infused into the greater part his own spirit and energy. By his presence and exhortations, they were animated to exertions of which before they were not supposed to be capable. All who could wield a spade, or carry a musket, were put to work upon the fortifications, or trained in the art of defending them.

39. The Mississippi, upon the east bank of which New-Orleans stands, flows to the ocean in several channels. One, leaving the main stream above the city, runs east of it and forms, in its course, Lake Ponchartrain and Lake Borgne. Early in December, the enemy entered this channel. Their whole force amounted to about 8000 men, a part of whom had just left the shores of the Chesapeake, and the remainder had arrived directly from England. A small squadron of gunboats under lieutenant Jones, was despatched to oppose their passage into the lake. These were met by a superior force, and after a spirited conflict, in which the killed and wounded of the enemy exceeded the whole number of the Americans, they were compelled to surrender.

40. This disaster required the adoption, in the city, of more vigorous measures. Disaffection growing bolder, martial law was proclaimed; the authority of the civil magistrate was suspended; and arbitrary power was assumed and exercised by the commander-in-chief. May no emergency hereafter occur, in which a military officer shall consider himself authorized to cite, as a precedent, this violation of the constitution.

41. On the 21st of December, four thousand militia arrived from Tennessee. On the 22d, the enemy, having previously landed, took a position near the main channel of the river, about eight miles below the city. In the evening of the 23d, general Jackson made a sudden and furious attack upon their camp. They were thrown into disorder; but they soon rallied and fought with bravery

equal to that of the assailants. Satisfied with the advantage first gained, he withdrew his troops, fortified a strong position four miles below New-Orleans, and supported it by batteries erected on the west bank of the river.

42. On the 28th of December, and first of January, vigorous but unsuccessful attacks were made upon these fortifications by the enemy. In the mean time, both armies had received reinforcements; and general Packenham, the British commander, resolved to exert all his strength in a combined attack upon the American positions on both sides of the river. With almost incredible industry, he caused a canal, leading from a creek emptying into Lake Borgne to the main channel of the Mississippi, to be dug, that he might remove a part of his boats and artillery to the latter. All things being prepared, the 8th of January was assigned for the assault.

43. In the night, a regiment was transported across the river, to storm the works on the western bank, and turn the guns on the American troops on the eastern. Early in the morning, the main body of the enemy, consisting of seven or eight thousand men, marched from their camp to the assault. While approaching, fearless and undaunted, showers of grape-shot thinned their ranks. When they came within musket-shot a vivid stream of fire burst from the American lines. General Jackson having placed his troops in two ranks, those in the rear loaded for those in front, enabling them to fire with scarcely a moment's intermission. The militia of the west, trained from infancy to the use of the rifle, seldom took unsteady or uncertain aim. The plain was soon covered with dead and wounded. Some British regiments faltered and fell back; but others advanced and presented new victims. While bravely leading to the walls the regiment which bore the ladders, general Packenham was killed. In attempting to restore order and to rally the fugitives, general Gibbs, the second in command, was wounded mortally, and general Keene severely. Without officers to direct them, the troops first halted, then fell back, and soon fled in disorder to their camp. In little more than an hour, two thousand of the enemy were laid prostrate upon the field; while of the Americans but seven were killed and six wounded—a disproportion of loss without a parallel in the annals of warfare.

44. The events of the day, on the west side of the river present a striking instance of the uncertainty of

warlike operations. There the Americans were thrice the number of the assailants, and were protected by intrenchments; but they ingloriously fled. They were closely pursued, until the British party, receiving intelligence of the defeat of the main army, withdrew from pursuit and recrossed the river. They then returned and resumed possession of their intrenchments.

45. General Lambert, upon whom the command of the British army had devolved, having lost all hope of success, prepared to return to his shipping. In his retreat he was not molested: general Jackson wisely resolving to hazard nothing that he had gained, in attempting to gain still more.

46. In the midst of the rejoicings for this signal victory, a special messenger arrived from Europe, with a treaty of peace, which, in December, had been concluded at Ghent. The British government had receded from all their demands; and as the orders in council had been repealed, and all motive for the impressment of seaman had ceased with the war in Europe, no stipulation, in relation to these subjects, was inserted in the treaty, which provided merely for the restoration of peace and the revision of boundaries. The treaty was immediately ratified by the president and senate.

47. The war, however, did not cease on the ocean, until two additional victories had imparted a brighter lustre to the republican flag. In February, the Constitution, then cruising under the command of captain Stewart, captured the Cyane and Levant, whose forces united were superior to hers; and in March, the sloop Hornet captured the brig Penguin, stronger in guns and men than the victor.

APPENDIX.

THE English colonies of North America were settled under the most favorable auspices. The mind of man had just burst from thraldom, and begun to delight in the free and vigorous exercise of its powers. Religion and government had become themes of animated discussion. The people had boldly questioned the divine right of their rulers to control their actions, and of their priests to prescribe to them articles of faith. They had assumed a higher rank and bolder attitude; and, conscious of their own power, had begun to feel less dependence upon others.

2. From that country, where the advancement of knowledge had been greatest, came those who peopled this western wilderness. They belonged principally to a class, so high as to have participated largely in the advantages which knowledge imparts, and yet not so high as to be above the power of the oppressor. The persecutions they had endured rendered the principles of civil and religious liberty more dear to their hearts; and led to inquiries and reflections, which fixed a conviction of their truth more firmly in their understandings.

3. No occasion could be more fortunate, no men could be better fitted, to lay the foundation of a superstructure entirely new. Their knowledge enabled them to discern the good and the evil of the political institutions, which had existed in the world; and their feelings, chastened by their sufferings, or elevated by their favorable view of human nature, led them to reject those provisions, which sacrificed the happiness of many to the splendor of a few; and to adopt such only as gave equal rights and privileges to all.

4. In every nation of Europe, ecclesiastical establishments existed, almost co-ordinate with the civil authority. The officers of these establishments were numerous, and their privileges extensive. For their support, in early times, a tenth part of the income of the laity was appropriated. Possessing wealth, and rank, and learning, their influence was great, and was constantly exerted to acquire and preserve dominion over the minds and consciences of men. Their success was equal to the means which they employed. They continued to add to their wealth and power, until, corrupted by luxury and idleness, they forgot their duties to God and to man; and encumbered society with a useless and oppressive weight.

5. No part of these establishments have been transferred to America. The first settlers of most of the colonies were too proud of their attainments, in spiritual knowledge, to submit to dictation in matters of faith; and too independent in feeling to acknowledge a superior on earth. Here man resumed his natural and dignified station; and the ministers of the gospel, maintaining an apostolical simplicity of character and manners, have seldom sought to obtain, and possess not

the means of obtaining, any greater influence than that which superior virtue and piety confer.

6. The doctrine of hereditary right prevailed also throughout Europe. By the fundamental regulations of nearly every kingdom, the monarch and nobles transmitted to their eldest sons, even though destitute of talents and virtue, their authority, privileges, and rank. The people often saw on the throne men, who were guilty of the most atrocious wickedness, and whose conduct involved communities and nations in misery; but no attempt could be made to remove or punish them without incurring the penalty of rebellion. They saw also, in other exalted stations, men equally wicked and equally beyond their control.

7. The law of primogeniture existed as a part of the hereditary system. The eldest son inherited, not the title only, but also all the lands of the father. By this unjust and unnatural law, the younger sons and the daughters were doomed to comparative poverty. One portion of the people was made rich and another poor. Few were placed in that happy medium between wealth and poverty, which is most favorable to virtue, to happiness, and to the improvement of the human faculties.

8. The principle, that power could be inherited, was at once rejected by the first emigrants to America. They had witnessed, in Europe, the pernicious operation of this principle; they were convinced of its absurdity; and even had not such been the case, that equality of rank and condition, which existed among them, would have prevented any one from claiming such a privilege for his family, and all others from submitting to it.

9. The law of primogeniture fell of course into disuse, or was abolished. That equality of rights and of rank, which prevailed at first, has continued to prevail; and though, in some of the colonies, the extravagant grants of land, which were made by capricious governors to their favorites, introduced great inequality of fortune, yet the salutary operation of various laws is continually diminishing this inequality, dividing and distributing among many that wealth, which, when in the hands of a few, is less beneficial to the public, and productive of less individual enjoyment.

10. The systems of government established in the colonies were also departures from European precedents, and were in perfect harmony with their social institutions. Most of the provisions of the early charters were doubtless suggested by the first emigrants, and of course accorded with their liberal political principles. The kings, who granted them, conceded many privileges to encourage the settlement of colonies in America, entertaining no suspicion that their successors would ever have occasion to regret their concessions. These charters made but little distinction in the rights and privileges of the colonists. Every man could regard those around him as his equals. The state of individual dependence being hardly known, all sense of dependence on the mother country was gradually lost; and the transition from a colonial to an independent condition was natural and unavoidable.

11. In nothing is the contrast between the two systems of government greater than in the requisitions, which they make of the people, for their support and defence. That of Great Britain may be taken as a favorable example of the European governments. The people of that kingdom pay, annually, for the support of their sovereign and his relatives, nearly two and a half millions of dollars, while the compensation of the president of the United States is but twenty-five thousand. In the salaries of the subordinate officers of government, the disproportion is not so great, but is generally, nevertheless, as four or five to one.

12. The military peace establishment of Great Britain costs annually thirty-four millions of dollars; that of the United States but little more than five millions. The naval establishment of the former costs twenty-two millions; that of the latter less than two and a half millions. British subjects pay in taxes, raised exclusively for national purposes, at the rate of fifteen dollars yearly for each individual; the citizens of the United States pay, in national and state taxes, at the rate of but two dollars. And as the whole population of Great Britain and Ireland is included in the estimate, the individual wealth of the subjects of the united kingdom, and of the citizens of the American republic, may, on an average, be considered nearly equal.

13. With burdens thus light, not embarrassed by too much regulation, nor restricted by monopolies, but left at liberty to pursue their own interests, as individual judgment may dictate, the citizens of the republic have boldly embarked in all the ordinary pursuits of man; and in all have met with a degree of success, which exhibits a favorable and forcible commentary upon their free institutions, and proves that no other people surpass them in activity or enterprise.

14. In the pursuits of AGRICULTURE, by far the greatest portion of the inhabitants are engaged; and for that employment the country is most favorably situated. It embraces every desirable variety of climate. The soil is generally good; in many parts of the union, it is exceedingly fertile; and it produces, or may be made to produce, almost every vegetable, which can be used as the food of man, or as the material of manufactures. The northern states produce Indian corn, rye, wheat, flax, hemp, oats, potatoes; and their pastures feed and fatten large numbers of cattle and sheep. The middle and western states produce tobacco, and the same articles as the northern, but wheat in much greater abundance. In the southern states, cotton is principally cultivated, but considerable quantities of rice and sugar are produced.

15. In 1820, the number of persons engaged in agriculture was 2,070,646. The value of all its products exported during the year ending the 30th of September, 1823, was 37,646,000 dollars. The principle articles were, cotton to the value of 20.445,000 dollars; flour to the value of 4,962,000 dollars; tobacco to the value of 4,852,000 dollars; and rice to the value of 1,821,000 dollars. The value of provisions of all kinds exported was 13,460,000 dollars, and it has, in many years,

been greater. A people able to spare such an amount of the necessaries of life can never be in danger of suffering from want.

16. The agricultural class is conspicuous for industry, morality, and general intelligence; but has less professional knowledge than the same class in Europe. Land having hitherto been cheap, and not exhausted by cultivation, agriculturalists have not been eager, and it has not been necessary, to make practical application of the discoveries of science. A change in these respects having taken place, especially in the Atlantic states, many now study their profession as a science; and, as all professions are estimated according to the skill and intelligence required to attain eminence in them, they are raising their own nearer to that rank in society, to which the utility and importance of agriculture entitle it. More taste and neatness are displayed, and the appearance of the country is visibly and rapidly improving.

17. The COMMERCE of the United States has yielded a rich harvest of wealth. Various circumstances have directed to this pursuit the attention of a large portion of the population, and have contributed to their prosperity in it. For two thousand miles, the republic bounds upon the sea, and in that space has many excellent harbors. The finest timber for ship building is abundant, and easily procured. Near the shores of the northern states, and on the adjacent banks of Newfoundland, are fishing stations, unsurpassed by any in the world. Fishing is consequently a lucrative employment, in proportion to the capital invested, and attracts to it a large number of the natives of those states. These become accustomed to a seafaring life, and soon pass into larger vessels, destined for more distant and perilous voyages.

18. The state of the world, for several years subsequent to the commencement of the French revolution, offered great encouragement to the commercial enterprise of the country. While almost every other power was engaged in war, the United States were neutral; their vessels navigated the ocean in safety, and were employed to carry, from port to port, the commodities of the belligerant nations. In fifteen years, beginning with 1793, these favorable circumstances increased the amount of American tonnage from 491,000 to 1,242,000 tons, and the revenue arising from commerce, from 4,399,000 to 16,363,000 dollars.

19. In 1820, the number of persons engaged in commerce was 72,493. In 1823, the whole amount of exports was 74,799,000 dollars; the amount of imports was 77,579,000 dollars, the ballance, in favor of the United States, being about three millions of dollars. As the imports, however, are always undervalued at the custom-house, the additional wealth, which, in that year, accrued to the nation from commerce, was undoubtedly greater.

20. In other years, the commerce of the country has flourished more. In 1807, the exports amounted to 108,343,000 dollars, and the imports to 138,574,000 dollars. The principal causes of the decline which has taken place, have been, the

restoration of peace in Europe, and the increase of the product of domestic manufactures. The former has permitted all other nations to become our competitors; the latter has rendered it unnecessary to resort to Europe for most of the conveniencies and many of the luxuries of life. The depression will not long continue. The independence of the South American republics has opened a wide field for the enterprise of our merchants, and given a brighter hue to their future prospects.

21. The COD FISHERY on the north-eastern coast of America attracted, at an early period, the attention of the world. In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert found thirty-six vessels fishing in the harbor of St. John, in Newfoundland. They were principally from Biscay, in Spain, and Britany in France, and, for many years, the French retained almost a monopoly of this source of wealth. In 1744, they employed, in this fishery, 414 large ships, navigated by about 24,000 seamen, and the quantity of fish taken amounted to 1,149,000 quintals.

22. The war of 1756, expelling the French from the continent, transferred the privileges which they had enjoyed to Great Britain. The English colonies, from their vicinity, participated largely in them. In the year 1760, six hundred and sixty vessels, navigated by 4,400 seamen, were fitted out from the ports of New-England. During the revolutionary war, the Americans were compelled to relinquish this profitable pursuit; and it required all the firmness and address of the negotiators of the peace of 1783, to secure to these states those advantages which nature seems to have intended for them, and which they had enjoyed as a component part of the British empire. They were at length, however, notwithstanding the covert opposition of France, conceded by the mother country.

23. From that period, till 1807, the number of vessels and men employed in this pursuit continued to increase. An estimate has been made that, from 1790 to 1810, twelve hundred vessels of all kinds, navigated by 10,500 men and boys, were, on an average, yearly employed in the Bank, Bay, and Labrador fisheries; 1,150,000 quintals of fish were caught and cured; and 37,000 barrels of oil were made. The annual value of the product of these fisheries could not have been less than three and a half millions of dollars. They were interrupted by the last war with Great Britain, and have not since regained their former activity. As nurseries of seamen, they are important to the nation; and as such have received the particular attention and encouragement of government. A bounty, which has, in some years, amounted to 200,000 dollars, is paid to the owners and crews of the vessels employed.

24. The WHALE FISHERY of the United States ought not to be passed over unnoticed. Its successful prosecution requires uncommon hardihood and skill. As early as 1690, the inhabitants of Nantucket engaged in this pursuit, and were soon after joined by their brethren of the town New-Bedford. In a few years these monsters of the deep were driven from the American coasts; but were pursued with ardor into seas the

most remote. In 1715, two hundred and twenty-eight tons; in 1771, twenty-seven thousand tons; in 1815, forty-two thousand tons of shipping were employed in this business. The product of this fishery, exported in 1807, consisting of common and spermaceti oil and whale-bone, was valued at 606,000 dollars; in 1823, at 653,000 dollars.

25. An extract from the speech of Mr. Burke delivered in the British parliament, in 1775, presents, in eloquent language, a correct idea of the importance of this fishery, and of the enterprise and dexterity of those engaged in it. "As to the wealth which the colonies have drawn from the sea by their fisheries, you had all that matter fully opened at your bar. You surely thought those acquisitions of value; for they seemed even to excite your envy; and yet the spirit by which that enterprising employment has been exercised, ought rather, in my opinion, to have raised your esteem and admiration

26. "And pray, sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New-England have of late carried on the whale fishery. While we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's bay and Davis's straits; whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold; that they are at the Antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting place in the progress of their victorious industry.

27. "Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both poles. We know that, while some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coasts of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue the gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood.

28. "When I contemplate these things; when I know that the colonies owe little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they are not squeezed into this happy form by the constraints of watchful and suspicious government, but that, through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature has been suffered to take its own way to perfection; when I reflect upon these effects, when I see how profitable they have been to us, I feel all the pride of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances melt and die away within me. My rigor relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty."

29. MANUFACTURES. While the United States were colonies, the mother country endeavored to prevent the inhabitants

from manufacturing any article whatever, even for their own use. The erection of slitting-mills was prohibited, and hatters were forbidden to take any apprentice for less than seven years, or to employ more than two at a time. In addition to these and other legislative enactments, the wages of labor were high, and, neither skill nor surplus capital existed in the country. But little attention was of course given to manufactures, and the inhabitants received their supplies from the artizans of England.

30. Some attempts were however made, a few years previous to the commencement of the revolutionary war, to introduce manufactures. Such was in part the intention of the non-importation agreements; and some of the colonial legislatures, to encourage the production of wool, and the manufacture of cloths, exempted sheep from taxation. But, at no time, previous to the adoption of the constitution, did manufacturers exist in the country in sufficient number to be considered a class of the population.

31. And indeed it was not until the imposition of the embargo, in 1807, that any considerable impulse was given to this branch of industry. Prevented by this interruption of commerce, from exchanging their products for foreign articles, the inhabitants then attempted to fabricate them for themselves. From the want of experience and skill, many of the first attempts were unsuccessful; but in a very short time, these deficiencies were supplied, and, at the close of the war, the amount of the products of manufactures was astonishingly great. Forming an estimate from the amount in 1810, which was near 170 millions, it could not have been less, for 1814, than two hundred millions of dollars. In this amount, however, are included the products of household manufactures, and of the mechanic arts.

32. Peace, by affording to foreigners an opportunity of introducing the goods which had accumulated in their warehouses, checked, for a few years, the impulse which the restrictive measures and the war had given. In each of the three years following 1815, the value of articles manufactured was probably less than in any one of the preceding six years. From the year 1818, the amount has gradually increased, and in 1821 and 1822, it was probably greater than it had ever before been. It will hereafter continue to increase, and the navigation of the country will be employed, not so much in bringing home the manufactures of other nations, as in carrying abroad those of the United States. In this way, domestic manufactures will repay to commerce the capital they have lately drawn from it.

33 The states in which the greatest attention is devoted to this branch of industry, are Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Connecticut. The principal manufactures are those of cotton and of woollen cloths, of iron, and of leather. In 1820, the number of inhabitants engaged in manufactures was 349,506.

34. The question, whether agriculture, commerce, or man-

ufactures is most productive of national wealth, and to which the government ought, in preference, to extend its protection and encouragement, has lately been warmly discussed, by the politicians and writers on political economy, in America, and in Europe. Each interest has had its advocates. The decision of the impartial statesman would probably be, that neither should be encouraged to the neglect of the others; that if either is, in any degree, to be preferred, it is that which is, at the time, the most depressed; or that which supplies most of the means of national defence, and most of the necessaries and conveniencies of life.

35. DEBT, REVENUE, and EXPENDITURES. When, in 1790, the public debt was first funded, it amounted to about 75,000,000 of dollars. In 1803, by the purchase of Louisiana, it was augmented to about 85,500,000. In the eight years which followed, a large amount was paid, leaving due, in 1812, but little more than 45,000,000. To defray the expenses of the war, which was declared in that year, more than 80,000,000 of new debt was contracted. A large portion has since been paid, and, on the first day of January, 1823, the amount of it was 90,865,877 dollars.

36. The present revenue of the republic is derived principally from commerce, and from the sale of public lands. In 1822, there accrued from the former source, the sum of 20,500,775 dollars; from the latter source, 1,803,581; and from other sources, 839,084. The amount, however, which was actually received, during the year, was but 20,232,427.

37. The expenditures, during the same year, were as follows: Civil, diplomatic, and miscellaneous, 1,967,996; for the pay and support of the army, the construction of forts, the supply of arms, the payment of pensions, and the various expenses of the Indian department, 5,635,188; for the support and increase of the navy, 2,224,458; for the payment of the interest, and for the redemption of that portion of the principal of the debt which became due within the year, 7,848,949; amounting in the whole to 17,676,591, and leaving an excess of revenue over expenditure of 2,555,836 dollars.

38. EDUCATION. In the kingdoms of Europe, large sums have been appropriated, by the government, for the purposes of education. Nearly all, however, has been expended in founding or endowing universities. To these the sons of the noble and the rich could alone gain access; and the intention and effect of the expenditure has always been, to produce erudite scholars and able orators, and to perpetuate and widen the separation between the higher and the lower classes of the population.

39. The people of the United States have had a different object in view, and one more congenial with their political institutions. Desirous that none should be ignorant, their first and principal care has been, to impart the advantages of instruction to the whole mass of the population. With this view, the legislatures of many of the states have ordained that

schools, for the education of all the youth in reading, writing, and arithmetic, shall be kept, and supported by a public and general tax.

40. This system was adopted in Massachusetts as early as 1647. A law was then passed, by that colony, providing that a school should be kept in every township having fifty householders, in which all the children, who might resort to it, should be taught to read and write. As the number of inhabitants increased, the townships were divided into small districts, and a school supported in each. Thus, the means of education were provided, at the public expense, and the opportunity of acquiring it placed within the power of all.

41. Immediately after their first settlement, the same system was adopted by the other colonies of New-England; and it has, by all of them, been preserved and cherished to the present time. Connecticut, having a large tract of land in Ohio, which was sold for 1,200,000 dollars, appropriated the whole sum to the support of common or primary schools. The sum has since been augmented to 1,700,000 dollars, and the interest is annually distributed to the several school districts, according to the number of scholars taught in each. No district, however, is entitled to any aid from this fund, unless it had, in the preceding year, expended, for the same purpose, a certain amount derived from its own resources.

42. The effect of this system has been, to render the great body of the people of these states the most enlightened in the world. All can read and write, and rarely can one be found not qualified, by education, to transact the common concerns of life. To educate his children, is the first object, and the chief glory of the parent; their ignorance is to him and to them disgraceful. In these schools, the human mind receives its first impulse in the career of learning; an impulse which carries many forward to high stations of honor and of usefulness.

43. The great state of New-York, distinguished for magnificent projects of internal improvement, and for liberal patronage of literature and the arts, has lately adopted a system nearly similar to that of Connecticut. From various sources, it has accumulated a fund, the income of which is to be applied annually to the support of common schools. This fund, in 1820, amounted to 1,215,000 dollars. Since that year, all the unsold and unappropriated lands, which, when disposed of, will probably produce about one million more, have been permanently devoted to the same object. The annual interest of this fund is distributed, according to population, among the several townships, on their raising, for the same purpose, an additional sum equal to that which they receive from the state. In 1821, three hundred and thirty-three thousand children were taught, in the several district schools; a number nearly equal to that of all the children in the state between five and fifteen years of age. In 1823, the number taught was 400,000.

44. Virginia has also a literary fund, the interest of a part of which is appropriated to the support of common schools.

This fund is of recent origin, and its income is yet small. The advantages of education are, however, so highly appreciated in that state, by its enlightened citizens, that most of the rising generation are instructed in private schools, or by domestic teachers. The same remark will apply to most of the middle and southern states; yet, in these, too many of the children of the poor will remain in ignorance until effectual provision is made, by the respective governments, for the instruction of all.

45. The national government has not been unmindful of the importance of universal education. Before the adoption of the constitution, it acquired, by the cession of the states claiming it, the property of nearly all the unappropriated land within the national boundaries. In offering this land for sale, it has reserved, in every township, one section, comprising 640 acres, for the use of schools. As the population of the new states becomes more dense, these lands will constitute a valuable and productive fund, and the system of free schools, thus planted in the western, will there produce the same benefits as in the eastern portion of the union.

46. Schools of a higher order, to which the name of academies has been applied, are numerous in all the states, especially in those of New-England. Many are incorporated, and some possess considerable funds. That at Exeter, in New-Hampshire, holds the highest rank; its funds amount to 80,000 dollars; it has a library containing 700 volumes, and a handsome philosophical apparatus. In these schools are taught English grammar, composition, history, geography, mathematics, the Latin and Greek languages. Many young men resort to them to acquire an education superior to that which can be obtained at the primary schools, and many to prepare themselves to enter some college or university. They are principally taught by those, who have just received a degree in the arts, and who are unable, from the want of property, to engage immediately in the study of the professions which they intend to pursue.

47. Of colleges and universities there is also a large number in the United States. The oldest and first in rank is Harvard College, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. It was established in 1638, only eighteen years after the first settlement of Plymouth. It had then a fund of about 5,000 dollars, nearly two thirds of which was a donation from the Rev. John Harvard, of Charlestown. The first degrees were conferred, upon nine young gentlemen, in 1642. It has since received many and large additions to its funds, principally donations from individuals; and, from the exertions of its learned presidents and professors, has, with short intermissions, been constantly advancing in reputation, and increasing in usefulness. The library contains about twenty-five thousand volumes. In 1824, the faculty consisted of a president, and twenty professors; the number of students was 222, and of the resident graduates 146.

48. Yale College was founded in 1700, and incorporated in

1701. It was first established at Saybrook; but, in 1716, was removed to New-Haven, in Connecticut. Elihu Yale, a merchant in London, having made to it a donation of more than four thousand dollars, its name was, in 1718, changed from the Collegiate School, to Yale College. Afterwards bishop Berkeley, the celebrated metaphysician, who had resided two years in America, presented to it a collection of books, consisting of nearly one thousand volumes; and a farm in Newport, the annual rent of which, on a long lease, is two hundred and forty bushels of wheat. From the state, and from other sources, it has received many liberal donations. Its libraries contain about nine thousand volumes. In 1824, the faculty consisted of a president, and eleven professors, and the number of its students was 349.

49. In addition to these, there are, in the union, about fifty colleges and universities authorized to confer degrees. In all of these are taught, the English, Latin, and Greek languages, rhetoric, mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, chymistry, astronomy, history, and geography. In some of them are also taught the Hebrew, oriental, and modern European languages; anatomy, surgery, medicine, botany, polite literature, divinity, ethics, natural and municipal law, politics, and elocution.

50. Literature. The remark has often been made, that the United States have produced no eminent scholars; and that the national character has not been illustrated by literary and scientific performances of distinguished merit. This remark is doubtless just. Compared with those of the old world, their writers have not exhibited the same labored polish of style, nor their men of science the same perseverance and extent of investigation. Their historians are not equal to Hume or Robertson; their poets to Milton or Pope; their chymists to Lavoisier or Davy; nor their metaphysicians to Locke, Berkeley, or Reid.

51. But this fact implies no deficiency of mental vigor in the people. The mind of the nation has received, from circumstances, a different direction. Those who are endued with extraordinary talent, whatever may have been their original propensities, have been called from the closet to labor in the legislative hall, or the cabinet; to vindicate the cause or defend the interest of their country abroad; to dispense justice from the bench, or to support and defend, at the bar, the claims and the rights of their fellow citizens.

52. To perform these duties, certainly not less honorable nor less difficult than any thing which the mere scholar can perform, a greater variety of talents, and greater intellectual labor, have been required in this than in any other country. Here, in comparatively a short period, the foundations have been laid, and the superstructures erected, of new political institutions. Many governments have been established over communities differing from each other, and from those of Europe; and over these a paramount government, with extensive and important powers. For each of these communi-

ties, a new system of law has been required, and each government has a separate executive, legislative, and judicial department. The population of no country has been called upon to supply such a number of legislators, of judges, and of lawyers; nor, it may be added, of instructors of youth. And, while their number accounts for the comparative neglect of literature and the fine arts, the talents they have displayed sufficiently vindicate the republic from the reproach of intellectual inferiority.

53. But not in these modes alone have the people of these states proved, that in original powers of mind they may assert an equality, at least, with those of any other nation. None has made more important discoveries in the useful arts. England boasts of her Arkwright, who invented the spinning machine; of her Worcester, Newcomen, and Watt, by whose ingenuity and labors the powers of steam were substituted for the uncertain aid of wind and water in moving the machinery of manufactories.

54. America may boast of her Godfrey, whose quadrant has been almost as serviceable, as the compass, to navigation; of her Franklin, who has made our dwellings comfortable within, and protected them from the lightning of heaven; of her Whitney, whose cotton gin has added to the annual product of that article at least one hundred millions of pounds; of her Whittemore, the inventor of the wonderful machine for making cards; of her Perkins, the inventor of the nail machine; and of her Fulton, who has rendered the power of steam subservient to the purposes of navigation.

55. But the United States have produced authors who would do honor even to any other nation. The style of Franklin is perspicuous and pure; and few men of any age or country have contributed more by their writings, to enlighten and to benefit mankind. The histories of Marshall, Ramsay, Belknap, Williams, and the Annals of Holmes, are works of sterling merit, interesting, and instructive. Among theological writers, Edwards, Hopkins, Dwight, Lathrop, Davies, Kollock, and Buckminster, are deservedly eminent. And as a novelist, Brown has few equals.

56. Many of the political writers of this country have displayed great vigor of thought, and force of expression. The pamphlets and state papers to which the revolutionary struggle gave existence; the numbers of the Federalist; the official letters of Mr. Jefferson, as secretary of state, and of the American ministers at Ghent, not only display intellectual powers, but possess literary merit, of the highest order. Some of the best writers of this republic have not been the authors of books.

57. To the fine arts still less attention has been paid than to literature; but the neglect is to be attributed rather to the deficiency of patronage than to the want of capacity to excel. Benjamin West, a native of Pennsylvania, presided for many years over the Royal Society, comprising the most eminent

painters of Great Britain. In portrait-painting, Copley and Stuart have acquired a high reputation; and in historical painting, Trumbull and Alston excel. The United States claim only the honor of their birth; England and Italy that of patronizing and instructing them.

58. RELIGION. The consequences resulting from the enjoyment of religious liberty have been highly favorable. Free discussion has enlightened the ignorant, disarmed superstition of its dreadful powers, and consigned to oblivion many erroneous and fantastic creeds. Religious oppression, and the vindictive feelings it arouses, are hardly known. Catholics and Protestants live together in harmony; and protestants who disagree, employ, in defending their own doctrines, and in assailing those of their antagonists, the weapons only of reason and eloquence.

59. In the New-England states, the independents or congregationalists constitute the most numerous denomination; in the middle states, the presbyterians; and in the southern, the methodists. Baptists, episcopalians, and Roman catholics, are found in all the states; but in Maryland and Louisiana, the catholics are more numerous than elsewhere. Each of these sects has one or more seminaries of learning, in which its peculiar doctrines are taught, and young men are educated for the ministry. Many other sects exist, but reason, less tolerant than the laws, is gradually diminishing the number.

60. CHARACTER AND MANNERS. Foreigners have asserted that the Americans possess no national character. If at any period this assertion has been true, it was then no reproach. In its youth, a nation can have no established character. The inhabitants of this republic, coming from every quarter of the world, speaking many different languages, dispersed over a vast extent of territory, could not immediately assimilate and exhibit those few prominent traits, which nations as well as individuals, in their maturity, display.

61. But the germ of a national character has always existed. It has grown with our growth, and is gradually growing into the shade those unfavorable and discordant traits, which have disfigured and partly concealed it from view. Who, that has read the history of these states, has not perceived, in the inhabitants, an energy of purpose capable of surmounting all obstacles; a spirit of enterprise, that leaves nothing useful unattempted; a proud sense of personal dignity and independence; a decided preference of utility before show; and a love of knowledge that has dispelled ignorance from the land? They may have been too much devoted to the pursuit of gain; too much addicted to habits of intemperance; too much inflated with national vanity; bigoted and superstitious: but these traits are now less apparent; they are constantly melting away, and those more noble appearing in bolder relief.

62. They whose wealth or talents place them in the first rank in society, are, in their manners, free from awkwardness, formality, haughtiness, and ostentation; but they do not

display the elegance or refinement of the same class in Europe. The mass of the people are serious, shrewd, inquisitive, manly, and generally respectful; but they know little, and practise less, of the ceremonies of formal politeness. To foreigners, accustomed to the servility of the lower classes in Europe, they doubtless appear rough and uncourtly; and many fashionable tourists may have had their feelings needlessly wounded, and their delicacy shocked; but when respectfully treated, they display native politeness, and generosity of sentiment. Time will remove the grosser defects; but may it never, by polishing too deeply, impair that strength of character, which is essential to the permanence of our republican institutions.

---

63. A review of the rapid progress of the United States in population, wealth, and power; a survey of their present physical and moral condition; and a comparison of them, in either respect, with other nations, cannot fail to give to an American citizen an elevated conception of his own country, and to justify the loftiest anticipations of the future.

64. In a period of thirty years, ending with 1820, the population of the republic increased from 3,893,835, to 9,642,150; it consequently doubles in less than twenty-five years. In Great Britain the population does not double in less than eighty years; and in that country the increase is nearly, if not quite, as rapid as in any other country in Europe.

65. The augmentation of wealth and power cannot be so easily ascertained. It is the opinion of many, well qualified to judge, that it has been still more rapid; and when the increase of our exports, which in the same period advanced from nineteen to sixty-five millions; when the growth of our cities and villages; the increase of our manufacturing establishments, of our national and mercantile navy, of our fortifications and other means of defence; the extent of our internal improvements; and, beyond all, the extensive territories reclaimed from a state of nature and made productive and valuable, are adverted to, that opinion will not appear unfounded nor extravagant.

66. Although now inferior to the principal nations of the old world, yet but a short period will elapse before the United States, should their progress hereafter be the same that it has been, will overtake and pass them. Their great natural advantages will continue to urge them forward. Extensive tracts of fertile land yet remain vacant of inhabitants; the portions already settled are capable of supporting a much more numerous population; new roads and new canals will give greater activity to internal commerce, and open new fields to the untiring industry and enterprise of man; and, a small part only being required by the government, nearly the whole annual income will be added to the general capital, augmenting it in a compound ratio.

67. That these splendid anticipations are not the sugges-

tions of national vanity, the history of the past sufficiently proves. Yet their fulfilment depends, in a great degree, upon the future conduct of the people themselves; upon their adherence to the principles of their fathers; upon the preservation of free political institutions, of industrious, frugal, and moral habits; and, above all, upon the universal diffusion of knowledge.

68. This truth should sink deep in the hearts of the old and the young. The citizens of this republic should never forget the awful responsibilities resting upon them. They constitute the oldest nation on this western hemisphere, the first on the list of existing republics. They stand forward, the object of hatred to some, of admiration to many, of wonder to all; and an impressive example to the people of every country. To them is committed an experiment, successful hitherto, the final result of which must have a powerful influence upon the destiny of mankind; if favorable and happy, the whole civilized world will be free; if adverse, despotism and darkness will again overshadow it. May they ever be sensible of the vast importance of their example. May they never betray their sacred trust.

QUESTIONS

TO

HALE'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Qs. Pg.

1 7 Was the continent of America known to the ancients?
2 — What was the object of the voyages of discovery made in the 15th century?
3 — Who was a distinguished navigator of that age?
4 — Where was he born?
5 — What incidents led him to think that he could reach the East Indies by sailing west?
6 8 To whom did he apply for assistance?
7 — Who became his friend and patron?
8 — When did he set sail? From what port?
9 — What course did he steer?
10 — What phenomenon was first observed during his voyage?
11 9 How did his crews behave? What did they threaten to do?
12 — How did he appease them?
13 — When was land discovered?
14 10 What other islands did he discover and visit?
15 — How was he received on his return?
16 — Who first discovered the continent? When?
17 11 Upon what did the English found their claim to the eastern portion of North America?
18 — From whom does the continent derive its name?
19 — Who is supposed to have entered the harbor of New-York?
20 — What induced Coligni to attempt a settlement in America?
21 — What was the result?
22 12 By whom was the second attempt made? When? Where?
23 — Was it fortunate?
24 13 On what occasion was the spirit of adventure revived?
25 — Who most encouraged the scheme of colonization?
26 14 What companies were formed?
27 — What territory was granted to each?
28 — What privileges were secured to the emigrants?
29 — When was Quebec settled? By whom?

CHAPTER I.

30 15 By what company was Virginia settled?
31 — How many persons were sent over?
32 — What distinguished man was among them?
33 — Relate the principal events of his life.
34 16 When did the adventurers land? At what place?
35 — Who was elected president? Who was excluded?
36 — What was the character of the aboriginal inhabitants?
37 17 What happened to captain Smith?
38 — By whom was he preserved from death?
39 — While absent, to what number had the settlers been reduced?
40 18 How many came with Newport?
41 — How did Smith employ himself?

Qs. Pg.
42 18 Was he chosen president?
43 19 Relate what afterwards occurred?
44 — What induced Smith to return to England?
45 — What was the consequence?
46 20 Who were successively appointed governors?
47 — For what purpose was Pokahontas taken?
48 — What is related concerning her?
49 21 What was the object of Argal's expedition in 1613?
50 — What did he accomplish?
51 — What instructions were given by king James?
52 — When did governor Yeardly arrive?
53 — What did he do which gave joy to the people?
54 22 In what state was the colony at this period?
55 23 What misfortune happened to it?
56 — How much was the number of settlers reduced?
57 — Did the Virginians depose Harvey?
58 — What did king Charles do?
59 — Who succeeded Harvey?
60 — Whom did the Virginians favor, the king or parliament?
61 24 What did the parliament do?
62 — What did the Virginians do on the death of Matthews?
63 — Why were the people disaffected?
64 — Who was the leader of the insurgents?
65 25 Relate the incidents of the rebellion.
66 26 What was the conduct of Berkeley towards the rebels?
67 — What was the population in 1688?
68 — How was the colony governed?
69 — What course did the representatives pursue in relation to slavery?

CHAPTER II

70 26 To what company was Massachusetts granted?
71 27 When were the first men sent over left?
72 — When and why did they return to England?
73 — By whom was the coast of Massachusetts surveyed?
74 — In that age what was the maxim of all ecclesiastics and politicians?
75 28 What causes induced Mr. Robinson's congregation to remove to Holland?
76 — To what company did they apply for a grant of land?
77 — To what part were they carried?
78 — What did they do before leaving the ship?
79 — When did they land?
80 29 How many perished during the winter?
81 — What was the settlement called?
82 — What was the population in 1630?
83 — What directed the attention of others to New-England?
84 — What association was formed in 1627?
85 — Of what company did they obtain a grant?
86 — Where did the people they sent out land?
87 — What were the provisions of the charter they obtained?
88 30 What town was next settled?
89 — What was the first object of their attention?
90 — What number perished before spring?
91 — At what time was Boston founded?
92 31 What distinguished lady fell a victim?
93 — How many perished before December?
94 — What was one great object of the puritans?
95 — What ordinance was passed in 1631?
96 — Were the Indians numerous, at that time, in New-England?
97 32 When were representatives first chosen?

Qs. Pg.
98 32 Who was banished from Salem? For what cause?
99 — What distinguished emigrants came in 1635?
100 — Relate their history.
101 33 Who were detained by king Charles?
102 — What was the cause of the first war with the Indians?
103 34 With what tribe was it carried on?
104 — Which party was victorious?
105 35 What cause put a stop to emigration?
106 — In what year did the colonies form a league?
107 36 What is said concerning the representatives and assistants?
108 — Which did New-England favor, the king or parliament?
109 — What propositions did Cromwell make to the colonies?
110 — When was New-Hampshire incorporated with Massachusetts? When was Maine?
111 37 What law was made against Quakers?
112 — What distinguished individuals came to New-England about this time?
113 — How were they received? Where did they reside?
114 39 What law was enacted by England in 1663?
115 — What measure was adopted by the king in 1664?
116 — What was the conduct of the commissioners?
117 40 How many towns and inhabitants did New-England contain at the end of 50 years from the settlement of Plymouth?
118 — What were the causes of Philip's war?
119 41 Where were the first acts of hostility committed?
120 — Did the colonists suffer much injury from the savages?
121 — In what manner was the war carried on?
122 42 What was the result of the great battle fought December 18?
123 — What feelings did Philip exhibit?
124 — What was his fate?
125 43 What losses were sustained in this war?
126 — When was New-Hampshire made a separate colony?
127 — For what purpose was Edward Randolph sent over?
128 — What was done in relation to the charter?
129 44 What was the character and conduct of Andross?
130 — How did the people treat Andross and his adherents?
131 45 What was the result of the expedition to Canada?
132 — How did Massachusetts pay her troops?
133 — What were the provisions of the new charter?
134 — Who was the first governor under the new charter?
135 — What distinguished the commencement of his administration?
136 46 What causes produced the delusion?
137 — How many charged with witchcraft were executed?
138 47 What law was passed at the first session?
139 — What war existed at this period?
140 — When was Deerfield attacked?
141 — How many were killed and made prisoners?
142 48 Who were among the prisoners?
143 — How were they treated?
144 — What was the Indian mode of warfare?
145 — What expedition was fitted out in 1707?
146 — What in 1710? What was accomplished?
147 — What expedition was fitted out in 1711?
148 49 What misfortune occurred to the fleet?
149 — What was the event of the expedition?
150 — When was peace concluded?
151 — What was the effect of this war upon New-England?
152 — Who was appointed governor in 1716?
153 50 What question agitated the people when he arrived?
154 — What act of his displeased the assembly?

Qs. Pg.
155 50 Whose conduct did the people approve?
156 — What vote was passed respecting the governor's salary?
157 — What instructions did the king give?
158 — Did the assembly comply?
159 — What steps did the governor take?
160 51 Who was the next governor?
161 — What took place between him and the assembly?
162 — How was the controversy suspended?
163 52 Who succeeded governor Burnett?
164 — How was the long controversy terminated?
165 — Who was appointed governor in 1740?
166 — What event occurred in 1744?
167 — From what port were privateers fitted out?
168 — What expedition was concerted in 1745?
169 — By whom was it proposed?
170 53 Did the General Court in the end agree to it?
171 — What colonies furnished assistance?
172 — What naval force co-operated?
173 54 What fortunate events occurred?
174 — What was the result of the expedition?
175 55 What measure did France adopt the next summer?
176 — At what time was peace concluded?
177 — What were the terms of this peace?
178 — What became of the bills of credit?

CHAPTER III.

179 55 Which was the parent of the New-England colonies?
180 — To whom were the first grants made in New-Hampshire?
181 56 When were the first settlements made? Where?
182 — When was the first house built at Portsmouth?
183 — Of whom did Wheelright purchase land?
184 — What town did he found?
185 — When was civil government established in Dover, Portsmouth, and Exeter?
186 — What steps did these towns take in 1641?
187 — Of whom did the emigrants purchase lands
188 — What settlements suffered in Philip's war?
189 — When was New-Hampshire made a separate province?
190 — What law was passed in 1680?
191 57 What disputes arose on the arrival of Mason?
192 — Who was appointed governor after Andross was deposed?
193 — Did this colony suffer much from Indian wars?
194 — What town was surprised in 1689?
195 — Give an account of that event.
196 58 In what year was Londonderry settled? By whom?
197 — What did they introduce?
198 59 Why did J. T. Mason claim the lands of his ancestors?
199 — To whom did he convey them?
200 — What did they do to silence opposition?
201 — How were the Masonian lands granted?

CHAPTER IV.

202 59 To whom was Connecticut first granted?
203 — How far westward did the grant extend?
204 — By whom was a fort erected at Hartford?
205 — By whom was a trading house erected at Windsor?
206 60 By whom was Weathersfield and Windsor settled?
207 — For what purpose did Winthrop come from England?

Qs. Pg.
208 60 Did the Dutch attempt to molest him?
209 — What persons laid the foundation of Hartford?
210 — Whose authority did the first emigrants acknowledge?
211 — When did the freemen form a constitution?
212 — State the substance of this constitution.
213 61 By whom was Saybrook settled? Whence the name?
214 — What did Fenwick transfer to the General Court?
215 — By what persons was New-Haven founded?
216 — Was it a distinct colony?
217 — By what laws were they first governed?
218 62 With whom had both colonies disputes?
219 — How was partition made in 1650?
220 — Did the Dutch continue friendly?
221 — What did Connecticut propose to the confederacy?
222 — What was the conduct of Massachusetts?
223 63 What did Cromwell do?
224 — Did the inhabitants obtain a charter?
225 — What territory did it comprehend?
226 — Did New-Haven willingly consent to a union?
227 — When were the two colonies united?
228 64 What circumstances occurred when Andross demanded the charter?
229 — Did Connecticut retain her charter?
230 65 What demand did Fletcher make of Connecticut?
231 — How was he treated?
232 — When was Yale College founded?
233 — When was Saybrook platform adopted?
234 — What did this platform relate to?
235 66 What cause tended to preserve the peace of Connecticut?

CHAPTER V.

236 66 When was Rhode Island settled? By whom?
237 — Why was he banished from Massachusetts?
238 — What did he call the place where he settled?
239 — What regulations did he adopt?
240 — Who repaired to Rhode Island in 1638?
241 67 Did Rhode Island apply to be admitted into the league?
242 — What was the decision of the commissioners?
243 — Did Rhode Island consent to the terms?
244 — When was the first general assembly held?
245 — When did the colony obtain a charter?
246 — What were the provisions of this charter?
247 — What law was passed relative to the quakers?
248 — What secured the colony exemption from Indian hostility?
249 — What was the population in 1730? In 1761?
250 — When was Brown university founded?

CHAPTER VI.

251 68 By whom was New-York discovered? When?
252 — In what service did Hudson sail?
253 — By whom and when was a fort erected near Albany, and trading houses at New-York?
254 — What was Albany then called? What was New-York?
255 — What event occurred soon after?
256 — When and where was Fort Amsterdam erected?
257 — To what company did the republic of Holland make a grant?
258 — How far did the grant extend?
259 — What was the territory called?
260 — Where did the Dutch erect forts in 1623?

Qs. Pg.
261 68 With whom did this produce quarrels?
262 — When did war break out between the Dutch and Indians?
263 69 Who commanded the Dutch troops?
264 — In what place was a battle fought?
265 — Who agreed on a line of partition between the Dutch and English?
266 — To whom did the king of England grant New-York?
267 — What measure was thereupon taken?
268 — Did the expedition sent out succeed?
269 — What names were changed?
270 — Who assumed the government of the country?
271 — When was New-York made a city?
272 70 What event happened in 1673?
273 — How long did the Dutch retain possession?
274 — Whom did the duke of York appoint governor?
275 — To what religious sect did both belong?
276 — When was the first assembly held?
277 — By what people was the interior of New-York inhabited?
278 — Of whom were they the allies?
279 — Who led an army against them?
280 71 What was he obliged to do?
281 — What Indian chief addressed the French governor?
282 — Recite his speech.
283 72 What effect had this speech on the French governor?
284 — Why was the duke of York disliked when he became king?
285 — What encouraged the disaffected?
286 73 What measures did Leisler and Milborne undertake?
287 — What did Bayard and Courtlandt do?
288 — What authority did Leisler assume? Why?
289 74 What did Milborne effect?
290 — What parties were despatched against the English?
291 — Describe the attack of Schenectady.
292 75 What was done to avenge these barbarities?
293 — To what was the failure of the expedition attributed?
294 — Whom did king William appoint governor?
295 — What was the character of this governor?
296 — What sentence was passed on Leisler and Milborne?
297 76 What was their fate?
298 — By whom were the French settlements attacked?
299 — Who was appointed governor in 1692?
300 — What object was he desirous of effecting?
301 — What took place in consequence of his recommendation?
302 77 When was the earl of Bellamont appointed governor?
303 — In what measure did he engage?
304 — Relate the conduct and fate of captain Kid.
305 — Into what parties were the people divided?
306 — When was lord Cornbury appointed governor?
307 — What were his parentage and character?
308 — In what manner did he behave?
309 78 What followed his removal from office?
310 — What resolution was passed?
311 — In what year did governor Hunter arrive?
312 — What people came with him?
313 — What is the character of their descendants?
314 — What dispute arose between the house and council?
315 — What enterprise was projected in 1709? In 1711?
316 79 What was the result of the latter?
317 — Did the people justify their representatives?
318 — State the progress and termination of the dispute between the house and council.
319 — Who succeeded governor Hunter?

Qs. Pg.
320 79 What projects had the French then in view?
321 — What did governor Burnet do to defeat it?
322 80 When was the assembly, elected in 1716, dissolved?
323 — What fort did the French erect while Van Dam was governor?
324 — Who succeeded Van Dam?
325 — What prosecution was instigated by governor Cosby?
326 — What honor was conferred on one of his defenders?
327 — When was Clark appointed lieutenant-governor?
328 81 What dispute was revived between him and the Assembly?
329 — Which party was triumphant at the next election?
330 — Recite the address of the house to the governor.
331 — What did he say in his next speech?
332 82 What resolve did the house pass?
333 — What plot was supposed to be concerted about this time?
334 — What was the supposed object of the plot?
335 — How many were burned? Hung? Transported?
336 83 What did Clark allude to in his speech?
337 — When was George Clinton appointed governor?
338 — What happened in 1745?
339 — When did peace take place?

CHAPTER VII.

340 84 By whom was New-Jersey settled? When? Where?
341 — When and where did the Swedes and Finns settle?
342 — What happened in 1655?
343 — What territory did the Dutch possess?
344 — How was it taken from them?
345 85 To whom was it conveyed?
346 — To whom did the Duke convey New-Jersey?
347 — Why was it so called?
348 — Who was the first governor?
349 — What was the origin of the disputes that arose?
350 — Did the people revolt? Did they submit?
351 — To whom did Berkeley dispose of his right?
352 — Who were appointed trustees to sell it?
353 — What partition was agreed on?
354 — Was a new patent granted to the Duke?
355 86 On what did Andross insist?
356 — What did he do?
357 — Recite the address to the commissioners.
358 — What was their decision?
359 87 To whom was East-Jersey transferred in 1682?
360 — Who was appointed governor over it?
361 — By whom were the Jerseys reunited?
362 — When was Princeton College founded?
363 — What was then the number of inhabitants?

CHAPTER VIII.

364 87 By whom was Delaware first settled?
365 88 What did they call the country?
366 — Where did they seat themselves?
367 — Why and where did they build forts?
368 — Where did the Dutch build a fort?
369 — In what manner did the Swedes gain possession of it?
370 — What course did governor Stuyvesant pursue?
371 — How long did the Dutch retain possession?
372 — What purchases did William Penn make?
373 — What name was given to the tracts purchased?

Qs. Pg.
374 88 To what colony where they united?
375 — When did a separation take place?

CHAPTER IX.

376 89 Who was the founder of Pennsylvania?
377 — To what religious sect did he belong?
378 — Why was the country granted to him?
379 — At what price was land sold?
380 — At what rate was it rented?
381 — In what year did the settlers leave England?
382 90 What position did they select for a settlement?
383 — What was the object of Penn's frame of government?
384 — What people, and how many, did he find upon the "territories"?
385 — Where was the first assembly held?
386 — What city did Penn found?
387 91 For what qualities are the Pennsylvanians distinguished?
388 — What party did Penn adhere to at the time of the English revolution?
389 — How was he treated?
390 92 Did he regain the favor of the king?
391 — When did he again visit Pennsylvania?
392 — What took place in 1701?
393 — How was the executive authority afterwards administered?
394 — What caused the most irritation?
395 — Did the colony prosper?
396 — What took place at the commencement of the revolution?
397 — What sum was paid in discharge of quit rents?

CHAPTER X.

398 93 By whom was Maryland founded?
399 — To what religious sect did he belong?
400 — After whom was the colony named?
401 — Who was appointed the first governor?
402 — When did the first settlers arrive? Where?
403 — What land did they purchase?
404 — What circumstances favored the rapid population of the colony?
405 94 When and how was a house of assembly formed?
406 — What alteration was made in 1650?
407 — What fact is honorable to Lord Baltimore and his associates?
408 — What disturbance was produced? By whom?
409 95 What was the result of the disturbances?
410 — What ordinance was passed by the victorious party?
411 — What was the number of inhabitants in 1660?
412 — When did lord Baltimore die?
413 — What was his character?
414 — What occurred in 1689?
415 96 What directions did king William give?
416 — When was the proprietor restored to his rights?
417 — What occurred at the commencement of the revolution?

CHAPTER XI.

418 96 What territory was granted, in 1630, to Sir Robert Heath?
419 — By what persons was a settlement formed north of Albemarle sound?
420 — What settlement was made in 1661? By whom?
421 97 What grant was made in 1663?
422 — What assurances were given to emigrants?

Qs. Pg.
423 97 Who prepared a constitution for the colony?
424 — What were the provisions of this constitution?
425 — Was it acceptable to the inhabitants?
426 — What settlement was made in 1670?
427 — In which of the Carolinas, as now divided, was it made?
428 98 What was the character and conduct of Seth Sothel?
429 — When was the constitution of Locke abrogated?
430 — How were the two provinces afterwards governed?
431 — What emigrants came in 1707? In 1710?
432 — What calamity fell upon them?
433 99 Whither did the Tuscaroras emigrate?
434 — What proceedings took place in 1729?
435 — In what part of North-Carolina did the settlements increase most rapidly?

CHAPTER XII.

436 100 When was the first settlement made at Port Royal?
437 — When was old Charleston founded?
438 — When did the freemen elect representatives?
439 — When did they meet to elect them?
440 — Whence did emigrants come?
441 — When was the present city of Charleston founded?
442 — What did the Proprietors direct in regard to the French protestants?
443 — Was opposition made? By whom?
444 101 What did these protestants do?
445 — Why was John Archdale sent over?
446 — What did he effect?
447 — What did Granville and Moore attempt?
448 — What law was passed?
449 102 What was the conduct of the lords and the queen?
450 — What expeditions were undertaken in 1702?
451 — What occurred in 1706? What in 1715?
452 103 What sufferings were occasioned by the war with the Indians?
453 — What measure did the assembly adopt?
454 — What emigrants were induced to come?
455 — What was their fate?
456 104 What occurred in 1719?
457 — How was the government afterwards administered?
458 — What occurred in 1738?
459 105 Was the insurrection quelled?
460 — From what countries did emigrants come?

CHAPTER XIII.

461 105 Where is Georgia situated?
462 — What project was concerted in 1732?
463 — To whom was Georgia granted?
464 106 What regulations did the Trustees provide?
465 — When did the first emigrants embark?
466 — Who was placed at their head?
467 — What was the conduct of the Carolinians?
468 — How many emigrants came the next year?
469 — What was the character of these emigrants?
470 — What offer was made to induce a different class to emigrate?
471 — Where did the Germans settle? Where the Scotch?
472 — Who made a visit to Georgia in 1736?
473 — What was his object?
474 — Who came two years afterwards?

Qs. Pg.
475 107 In 1740, how many emigrants had arrived?
476 — What was the amount of benefactions?
477 — What expedition did General Oglethorpe undertake?
478 — Was it successful?
479 — What afterwards occurred?
480 108 What event occurred when Oglethorpe was marching to attack the Spaniards?
481 — What expedient did he devise?
482 109 How did the invasion end?
483 110 What occurred in 1754?
484 — What products were cultivated?

CHAPTER XIV

485 110 In what year was the treaty between France and England concluded, which restored tranquility to America?
486 — What was the number of inhabitants in the thirteen colonies at that period?
487 — Where were the English settlements? Where the French?
488 — What design had the French in view?
489 — What did the company of English traders do?
490 — What was the conduct of the French?
491 111 Whom did governor Dinwiddie send as messenger to the French commander?
492 — What course did governor Dinwiddie take on receiving the answer?
493 — What was the result of Washington's expedition?
494 — When was the Albany plan of union formed?
495 — What did this plan provide?
496 112 Why was it rejected in England? Why in America?
497 — What expeditions were resolved upon in 1755?
498 — Relate the object and result of the expedition to Nova Scotia.
499 — Who commanded the expedition against Fort Du Quesne?
500 113 What was the result of the expedition?
501 114 Who commanded the expedition against Niagara?
502 — Was he successful?
503 115 Who commanded the expedition against Crownpoint?
504 — Relate what happened to this expedition.
505 116 Was it abandoned?
506 — What expeditions were proposed the next year?
507 — Why was Massachusetts disgusted? How appeased?
508 117 Who was appointed to succeed Shirley?
509 — Had war been declared between France and England?
510 — Who was appointed commander-in-chief?
511 — What post did general Montcalm take?
512 118 What had been accomplished in this campaign?
513 — To what did the ministry direct the attention of lord Loudon?
514 — Did he effect the object?
515 119 With what force did Montcalm besiege Fort William Henry?
516 — Where is that fort situated?
517 — Who was sent to command it?
518 — Relate the circumstances and result of the siege.
519 120 What effect had these disasters upon the British nation?
520 — Whom did the king appoint prime minister?
521 — What expeditions were determined on for the next campaign?
522 121 Who commanded that against Louisburg?
523 — Who served under him?
524 — How did the siege terminate?
525 — What was the result of the attack on Ticonderoga?
526 — What fort did colonel Bradstreet capture?
527 122 Who commanded the expedition against Du Quesne?

Qs. Pg.
528 122 What disaster occurred to it?
529 — Was it successful?
530 — Where was the fort situated?
531 — What was the plan of the next campaign?
532 — What was the event of the expedition against Niagara?
533 123 What success did general Amherst meet with?
534 — Who commanded the expedition againt Quebec?
535 — What was the condition of that place?
536 — When and where did Wolf land his army?
537 — Where does Quebec stand?
538 124 Where did a battle take place? What the event?
539 — What plan did Wolf then form?
540 125 In what manner did he gain the heights of Abraham?
541 — What did Montcalm then do?
542 — What was the fate of Wolf? Of Montcalm?
543 126 What was the consequence of the battle?
544 — When was peace concluded?
545 — What did France cede to Great Britain?

CHAPTER XV.

546 126 How much was added to the debt of England, in the late war?
547 — Whence did her legislators seek assistance?
548 127 What relation was supposed to exist between the mother country and her colonies?
549 — What restrictions had Great Britain imposed?
550 — What law was enacted in 1764?
551 — What resolution was proposed?
552 — In what courts were penalties to be recovered?
553 — What measures did the colonies adopt?
554 128 Recite the 8th and 9th sections.
555 129 When was the stamp act proposed?
556 — What language was used in supporting it?
557 — Recite Col. Barre's speech.
558 130 Did the bill pass?
559 — What took place in Virginia when the news arrived?
560 131 What resolve was passed in Massachusetts?
561 — What was the name of the associations formed in New-England?
562 — What occurred in Boston? What in Newport?
563 132 How did the citizens of New-York conduct?
564 — What title did they give to the stamp act?
565 — When did the Congress assemble?
566 — What were the proceedings of this Congress?
567 — What agreements were adopted?
568 133 What was proposed in the British parliament?
569 — What did Mr. Grenville say?
570 — Recite William Pitt's speech.
571 134 What were the proceedings of parliament?
572 135 Why were the people of New-England and New-York still dissatisfied?
573 — For what cause was the assembly of New-York suspended?
574 — What measure was adopted in June, 1767?
575 — What course did the General Court of Massachusetts pursue?
576 — How were they punished?
577 — What measures were then adopted in Massachusetts?
578 136 What step was taken by General Gage?
579 137 State what resolutions had been adopted in Parliament?
580 — What resolutions were adopted in Virginia?
581 — What did the governor do?
582 — What then ensued?

Qs. Pg.
583 137 State what occurred in State-Street, Boston.
584 138 To what place were the troops removed?
585 — What trials took place?
586 — Who defended the accused?
587 — Were they convicted?
588 139 What measure did parliament adopt?
589 — What alteration was made in the non-importation agreements?

CHAPTER XVI.

590 139 What causes contributed to increase the discontent which previously existed in Massachusetts?
591 140 By whom were committees of correspondence recommended?
592 — What was the object and what the effect of them?
593 — What letters did Dr. Franklin obtain and send over?
594 — What effect did these letters have?
595 — What measure did the East India Company adopt?
596 — What was done in Philadelphia and New-York?
597 141 What was the state of public feeling in Boston?
598 — What resolution was adopted by the citizens?
599 — What proceedings followed?
600 — Recite Josiah Quincy's speech.
601 142 What was done with the tea?
602 — What acts were passed by parliament?
603 143 How was the first day of June observed in Virginia?
604 — What spirit was displayed by the citizens of Salem?
605 — What was recommended by the General Court of Massachusetts?
606 144 When did the delegates meet?
607 — What resolutions did they adopt?
608 — What effect had their proceedings on public sentiment abroad?
609 145 Recite Mr. Pitt's speech.
610 — By what names were the Americans distinguished?
611 146 What measures did governor Gage adopt?
612 — When did a provincial Congress meet?
613 — What conciliatory proposition was adopted in parliament?
614 — Did the Americans accept it?
615 147 When did the battle of Lexington take place?
616 148 What was the result? What the effect?
617 — What expedition was projected in Connecticut?
618 149 By whom was it executed?
619 — What posts were taken?
620 — What British generals arrived in June?
621 — What proclamation was issued?
622 150 Why did the provincials resolve to occupy Bunker hill?
623 — Who commanded the provincial troops?
624 — On what day was the battle fought?
625 151 Relate the principal events of the battle?
626 152 How many Americans were killed and wounded?
627 — How many British?
628 — Did the result dispirit the Americans?
629 — What eminent man was killed?
630 — What measures were adopted by the continental Congress?
631 — Who was chosen commander-in-chief?
632 153 What other officers were chosen?
633 — What mode was adopted to defray expenses?
634 — What delaration was issued?
635 — Recite the extracts inserted.
636 154 To what place did Washington repair?
637 — How numerous did he find the army?
638 155 What occurred in Virginia?

Qs. Pg.
639 155 What in North-Carolina?
640 156 What in South-Carolina? What in Georgia?
641 — What in New-York? Who was made governor there?
642 — What resolution, referring to him, was passed by Congress?
643 — What was done and projected in 1775?
644 157 What was done in New-Hampshire?
645 — What transactions occurred in October?
646 158 How was the new army to be raised?
647 — How many enlisted?
648 — What works were erected in March?
649 159 What did general Howe attempt?
650 — Failing in this, what did he then determine?
651 — When was Boston evacuated?
652 — To what place did the American army proceed?
653 — Whither did the British fleet steer?

CHAPTER XVII.

654 159 How many expeditions were despatched against Canada?
655 — What did governor Carleton do?
656 160 Who proceeded in advance? Why?
657 — On whom did the chief command devolve?
658 — What did colonels Allen and Brown attempt?
659 — What was the fate of Allen?
660 161 What fortunate event occurred in October?
661 — What other victory was achieved?
662 — When was St. John's surrendered?
663 — To what place did Montgomery then repair?
664 162 With how many men did he begin his march to Quebec?
665 — Who commanded the other expedition?
666 — How many did it consist of?
667 — Describe their route?
668 — Were their sufferings great?
669 163 When did they arrive at the French settlements?
670 — When did he cross the river?
671 — Where did he encamp?
672 — When did Montgomery arrive?
673 — To what did their united force amount?
674 164 How strong were the enemy?
675 — What did the general first determine?
676 — What disease broke out in the camp?
677 — What was proposed and resolved upon?
678 165 When was the city assaulted?
679 — What disastrous event occurred?
680 — What happened to Arnold?
681 — Who assumed the command?
682 166 How did the attack terminate?
683 — What was the amount of the American loss?
684 — Where was Montgomery's monument placed?
685 167 How far from the city did Arnold encamp?
686 — When did general Thomas arrive from Roxbury?
687 — What was then done?
688 — To what place did the Americans retreat?
689 168 What occurred at the Cedars?
690 — Who succeeded general Thomas?
691 — Of how many did his army consist?
692 — How strong was the enemy?
693 — Where did Sullivan halt?

CHAPTER XVIII.

Qs. Pg.
694 169 What reply was made when the last petition was presented to th king?
695 — What treaties were made with German princes?
696 — What expedition was despatched in 1776?
697 — Who was appointed commander of the British naval forces?
698 — What preparations were made at Charleston?
699 170 Relate what occurred in the attack on Sullivan's island?
700 — What was the effect of this battle?
701 171 What able pamphlet was published at this time?
702 172 Who proposed, in Congress, a declaration of independence?
703 — Who seconded the motion?
704 — Who were the committee appointed to prepare it?
705 — On what day was it adopted?
706 — Recite the 17th section.
707 173 What was done at New-York?
708 — How was the American army posted?
709 — Where did the British troops first land?
710 — How were the two armies posted on Long Island?
711 174 Describe the battle which took place.
712 — Which gained the victory?
713 — Whither did Washington retreat?
714 175 Where did he take post in September?
715 — What did the enemy then do?
716 — What calamity happened to the city?
717 — What plan of warfare did Washington adopt?
718 — To what place did he next repair?
719 — What was the result of the battle there fought?
720 — What fort was attacked?
721 — Where was it situated?
722 176 Which gained the victory?
723 — What then followed?
724 — What proclamation was issued?
725 177 To what place did Congress remove?
726 — With what power did they invest Washington?
727 — What happened to general Lee?
728 — What was the behavior of the British?
729 — What brilliant victory was achieved?
730 178 What other exploit was performed?
731 — Who was among the wounded?
732 — What followed?
733 — What effect had these victories?

CHAPTER XIX.

734 179 What spirit did Congress exhibit?
735 — What measures did they take?
736 — Who were sent commissioners to France?
737 — What did the French ministry permit?
738 — Of what value were the prizes made by American privateers?
739 180 What distinguished Frenchman joined the Americans?
740 — What appointment did he receive?
741 — How were the American prisoners treated?
742 181 To what place did Howe transport his troops?
743 — Whither did Washington march?
744 — Which gained the victory at Brandywine creek?
745 — What officer was wounded?
746 — To what place did Washington eventually retreat?
747 — When did Howe enter Philadelphia?

Qs. Pg.
748 182 What was the result of the battle on Lake Champlain?
749 — What expedition was concerted in the winter?
750 — By whom was it to be commanded?
751 — What American commanded the northern department?
752 183 To what place did Burgoyne despatch St. Leger?
753 — When did he appear before Ticonderoga?
754 — What was the number of his army?
755 — When was Ticonderoga evacuated?
756 — To what place did the Americans eventually retreat?
757 — What intelligence was received from St. Leger?
758 184 What was the effect of the American proclamation?
759 — Whither did Burgoyne despatch Baum?
760 — Who commanded the American militia?
761 — Which gained the victory on the 16th of August?
762 — What occurred afterwards?
763 — What was the effect of the victory at Bennington?
764 185 What was the fate of St. Leger's expedition?
765 — Who were appointed to command the American army?
766 — Describe the first battle of Stillwater.
767 186 Describe the second.
768 — What was done by general Vaughan?
769 — To what place did Burgoyne retreat?
770 187 When did he surrender?
771 188 Describe the battle of Germantown.
772 — State the result of the assault upon Red bank and upon Fort Mifflin.
773 — Where did Washington's army pass the winter?

CHAPTER XX

774 189 When was the Confederation adopted?
775 — What powers did it confer on Congress?
776 — What right did the states reserve?
777 — Who was appointed inspector general?
778 190 What treaties were made with France?
779 — What act was passed by the British parliament?
780 — State what took place between the commissioners and Joseph Reed.
781 — What course did Great Britain pursue?
782 191 When did the British army quit Philadelphia?
783 — Did a battle take place soon after? Where?
784 — Who commanded the Americans?
785 — What was the result of the battle?
786 — What charges were made against Lee?
787 — What was his sentence?
788 192 What assistance arrived from France?
789 — What enterprise was then projected?
790 — Who commanded the American troops?
791 — What occurred at sea?
792 — What was Sullivan compelled to do?
793 193 What towns were attacked and ravaged?
794 — Relate what occurred at Tappan.
795 — How and where did Washington's army pass the winter?

CHAPTER XXI.

796 194 By what was the campaign of 1779 distinguished?
797 — What expedition sailed from New-York?
798 — What did the enemy effect in Georgia?
799 — Who took command in the southern department?
800 — What occurred at Savannah?
801 195 What other expedition sailed from New-York?

Qs. Pg.
802 — What did it accomplish?
803 — What expedition did Clark undertake?
804 — What was his success?
805 — What were the purpose and success of Sullivan's expedition?
806 196 What towns were burnt in Connecticut?
807 — What exploit was performed by general Wayne?
808 — What naval battle was fought in September?
809 197 Where did the northern army pass the winter?
810 — Were their sufferings great?
811 — How much paper money had been issued?
812 — How much had it depreciated?
813 — What new mode was adopted to supply the army?

CHAPTER XXII.

814 198 What place did the enemy besiege in the spring?
815 — Who were the opposing commanders?
816 199 What was the event of the siege?
817 — What exploit did colonel Tarleton perform?
818 — What conduct of general Clinton excited indignation?
819 200 What service did Sumpter render?
820 — Who led an army from the north?
821 — Describe the battle near Camden.
822 201 What occurred at the Catawba ford?
823 — What conduct did Cornwallis adopt?
824 — Who was a successful leader of the patriots?
825 — Who was appointed commander of the tories?
826 202 Where was he posted?
827 — By whom was he attacked, and what was the result?
828 — Who was appointed to succeed Gates?
829 — Where was the northern army posted?
830 — What were their sufferings and conduct?
831 — What squadron and troops arrived in July?
832 203 What project was disconcerted? How?
833 — What disaffected Arnold?
834 — What plot did he meditate?
835 — With whom had he an interview?
836 — Relate the circumstances of Andre's capture?
837 204 What was his conduct? What his fate?
838 205 How much did Arnold receive?
839 — What occurred at Morristown?
840 — What were the complaints of the soldiers?
841 206 How was the mutiny appeased?
842 — What did the states do?

CHAPTER XXIII.

843 206 What project was resumed in the spring of 1781?
844 — What delayed its accomplishment?
845 207 What commander fought the battle of the Cowpens?
846 — What was the result?
847 — What did Cornwallis attempt?
848 — What occurred on the retreat?
849 208 Describe the engagement between Lee and the tories.
850 209 Give an account of the battle at Guilford courthouse.
851 — Where did Greene halt?
852 — Whither did Cornwallis proceed?
853 — Which was victorious at Hobkirk's hill?
854 — What posts were captured in South-Carolina?
855 210 What was the event of the siege of Ninety-Six?

Qs. Pg.
856 211 Describe the battle of Eutaw.
857 — To what place did Cornwallis repair?
858 — Why was he recalled to the sea-board?
859 212 What posts did he fortify?
860 — What did Washington determine to do?
861 — What expedition did Clinton despatch?
862 — What did it accomplish?
863 213 What news did Washington receive at Chester?
864 — Of how many troops did the allied forces consist?
865 — When was the cannonade begun?
866 214 What occurred during the siege?
867 — When did Cornwallis surrender?
868 — What was the number of prisoners?
869 — What emotions did this victory produce in America?
870 215 What were the feelings of the British nation?
871 — What of the king?
872 — What opinion did the house of commons express?
873 — When were pacific overtures made?
874 — When did hostilities cease?
875 — Who were the American ministers?
876 216 Who was the British minister?
877 — When was the definitive treaty signed?
878 217 Why were the American troops dissatisfied?
879 — What occurred at Newburgh?
880 — When was the army disbanded?
881 218 When was New-York evacuated?
882 — When did Washington resign his commission?
883 — To what place did he retire?

CHAPTER XXIV.

884 218 What was the state of the country at the close of the war?
885 — How much had national securities depreciated?
886 — What prevented the prosperity of commerce?
887 219 What occurred in Massachusetts?
888 — What was the result of the meeting at Annapolis?
889 220 What resolution did Congress adopt?
890 — When did the convention meet?
891 — Who was chosen president of it?
892 — Did they agree upon a constitution?
893 — In what does this constitution differ from the articles of confederation?
894 — What is said of the members of the house?
895 — What of the senators?
896 — What of President?
897 221 What of the Vice-President?
898 — What is required in passing a law?
899 — What powers are conferred on Congress?
900 — What is said of the judicial department?
901 — What objections were made to the Constitution?
902 222 By what names were its friends and opposers styled?
903 — By how many states was it ratified?
904 — Who was elected first President? Who Vice-President?
905 — When was the President inaugurated?
906 223 What duties were laid?
907 — What departments were established?
908 — Who were appointed secretaries?
909 — What tour did the President make?
910 224 What did Hamilton recommend?
911 — For what reasons was his recommendation opposed?

Qs. Pg.
912 224 Was it adopted? What was the amount of debt funded?
913 225 Why were the duties on distilled spirits proposed?
914 — When were they laid?
915 — When was the bank incorporated?
916 — When did North Carolina adopt the constitution?
917 — When did Rhode Island?
918 — Where is Vermont situated?
919 — By what states had the territory been claimed?
920 — What did the inhabitants do in 1777?
921 — In what year was Vermont admitted into the Union?
922 — When was Kentucky admitted?
923 226 When was the first census completed?
924 — What was the number of inhabitants?
925 — How many were slaves?
926 — State the amount of the revenue, imports, and exports.
927 — When was the war with the Creeks terminated?
928 — With what tribes did war still exist?
929 — Who commanded the troops sent against them?
930 — State the circumstances and result of the battle.
931 227 Who were next elected President and Vice-President?
932 — What occurred in France, at this period?
933 228 What were the feelings of the Americans and French?
934 — Who was appointed minister to the United States?
935 — What authority did he assume?
936 229 What course did the President take?
937 — Who was appointed to succeed St. Clair?
938 230 Was he successful?
939 — When and where did he conclude a treaty?
940 — What produced discontent in Pennsylvania?
941 — What meeting was held at Pittsburgh?
942 231 What measure did the President adopt?
943 — Was the insurrection suppressed?
944 — What difficulties existed with England?
945 — When did Mr. Jay conclude a treaty?
946 232 What appeared to be public sentiment in relation to it?
947 — Did the President ratify it?
948 — What had been the conduct of Spain?
949 — What did she deny to the western people?
950 233 When was a treaty with her concluded?
951 — What privilege did it secure?
952 — When was a treaty concluded with Algiers?
953 — When did Mr. Jefferson resign?
954 234 When did Hamilton? When did Knox?
955 — What was the conduct of Fauchet?
956 235 Who was appointed minister to France?
957 — What did France wish?
958 — What measures did she adopt?
959 — Who was appointed minister to France in 1796?
960 236 What determination did Washington form?
961 — State the substance of his farewell address.
962 — Who were brought forward as candidates for the presidency?
963 — Who were chosen President and Vice President?

CHAPTER XXV.

964 237 What was the purport of the despatches received from France?
965 — What laws were passed?
966 — Who were appointed envoys to France?
967 — What was the conduct of the Directory?
968 238 What was done by Congress?

Qs.	Pg.	
969	238	Who was appointed to command the army?
970		— What naval battles were fought?
971		— When was peace concluded?
972		— When did Washington die?
973		— What were the proceedings of the house?
974	239	What of the senate?
975	240	When did Congress first meet at Washington?
976		— Who were the candidates for President and Vice-President?
977		— How was the choice made?
978		— Who were elected?
979		— What causes rendered Mr. Adams unpopular?
980	241	What was done at the next session of Congress?
981		— When was the second census taken?
982		— What was the number of inhabitants?
983		— How much had it increased in ten years?
984		— How much had the exports increased?
985		— How much the revenue?
986		— To what should this prosperity be attributed?
987		— When was Ohio admitted?
988		— When was the right of deposite at New-Orleans prohibited?
989		— What proposition was made in Congress?
990		— What course was adopted?
991	242	What was the price paid for Lousiana?
992		— By whom and when was Lousiana discovered?
993		— When ceded to Spain?
994		— When retroceded to France?
995		— What were the inhabitants?
996		— What occurred in the harbor of Tripoli?
997		— What exploit did lieutenant Decatur perform?
998	243	What project did general Eaton undertake?
999		— Describe his route.
1000		— When did he arrive at Derne?
1001	244	What ensued at that city?
1002		— What arrangement was made?
1003		— Relate what occurred in New-York in 1804.
1004		— Who were chosen President and Vice-President in 1804?
1005	245	Of what was Barr suspected in 1806?
1006		— Was he apprehended?
1007		— When and where was he tried?
1008		— What was the verdict of the jury?
1009		— What was the state of Europe at this period?
1010	246	What advantage did America derive?
1011		— What right did Great Britain claim?
1012		— What aggressions were committed by British cruizers?
1013		— State the purport of the British orders, dated in 1806?
1014	247	What decree was issued at Berlin?
1015		— What was the effect of these measures?
1016		— What event occurred in June, 1807?
1017		— What measures did the President adopt?
1018		— What course did the British government take?
1019	248	What important law was enacted?
1020		— What measures were adopted by Great Britain?
1021		— What by Bonaparte?
1022		— What effect had the embargo upon the people of New-England?
1023	249	Mr. Jefferson declining, who was elected president?
1024		— Who Vice-President?
1025		— What law was substituted for the embargo?
1026		— What arrangement was made with Erskine?
1027		— Was it ratified by Great Britain?
1028	250	Did Great Britain persist in her unfriendly conduct?

Qs. Pg.
1029 250 What occurred on the coasts of Virginia?
1030 — What did Mr. Foster propose?
1031 251 How many vessels had been captured since 1803, by British cruizers?
1032 — What did the President recommend?
1033 — What laws were enacted?
1034 — Relate what occurred at Tippecanoe.
1035 252 What was the object of John Henry's mission?
1036 — Did he meet with any success?
1037 — When was war declared?
1038 — For what reasons was it condemned?

CHAPTER XXVI.

1039 253 Who was appointed commander-in-chief?
1040 — What other generals were appointed?
1041 — When did Hull invade Canada?
1042 254 What events occurred in that quarter?
1043 — Who led an expedition towards the territory of Michigan?
1044 255 For what purpose was an army assembled on the frontier?
1045 — Who commanded this army?
1046 — What post was assaulted? With what success?
1047 256 Who succeeded Van Rensselaer?
1048 — What abortive attempts did he make?
1049 — What was done by general Dearborn?
1050 257 Describe the battle between the Constitution and Guerriere.
1051 258 What other naval victories were gained?
1052 — What was the number of prizes made during the first seven months of the war?
1053 259 Who were elected President and Vice-President in 1812?

CHAPTER XXVII.

1054 259 What terms were offered to the British government?
1055 — Why were the propositions of Great Britain rejected?
1056 — What measures did Congress adopt?
1057 260 What took place at French town?
1058 261 To what place did Harrison march?
1059 — By whom was fort Meigs invested?
1060 — What did general Clay attempt?
1061 — What success did he meet with?
1062 — How did the siege terminate?
1063 — Describe the attack upon York.
1064 262 What general was killed there?
1065 — What fort was next attacked?
1066 — What generals were made prisoners at Stoney creek?
1067 — What other misfortune followed?
1068 263 What post was attacked by the British?
1069 — Who commanded there?
1070 — What was the event of the attack?
1071 — What occurred on the sea-coast?
1072 264 Describe the naval action fought February 23rd.
1073 — Describe the action between the Chesapeake and Shannon.
1074 265 What were the last words of Lawrence?
1075 — How was the victory received in England?
1076 — What other contests took place at sea?
1077 266 Describe the affair at fort Stephenson.
1078 — What present did colonel Croghan receive?
1079 — Who were the respective commanders on lake Erie?
1080 267 What words were inscribed on Perry's flag?

Qs. Pg.
1081 267 Relate the events of the battle.
1082 — Recite Perry's letter to Harrison.
1083 — What did Harrison effect?
1084 268 Who was appointed to command the army of the centre?
1085 — What orders did he receive?
1086 — What occurred while descending the St. Lawrence?
1087 — Why was the project abandoned?
1088 269 What offer was made by the emperor of Russia?
1089 — Who were appointed commissioners?
1090 — What laws were passed by Congress?
1091 — What spirit was displayed by the southern Indians?
1092 270 What occurred at fort Mimms?
1093 — Describe the battle at Tallushatchie; at Talladega; at Emuckfaw; at Tohopeka.
1094 271 What occurred at the Hickory ground?
1095 — Recite Wetherford's speech.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1096 272 What bounty was offered to recruits?
1097 — What communication was received from Great Britain?
1098 — Was the proposition accepted?
1099 — Who were appointed additional commissioners?
1100 — What occurred at the river La Cole?
1101 — Who was appointed to succeed Wilkinson?
1102 — What events had recently occurred in Europe?
1103 — How were these events advantageous to Great Britain?
1104 273 Which party was victorious at Chippewa?
1105 — Relate the events of the battle of Bridgewater.
1106 274 What step did general Ripley take?
1107 — By how many troops was fort Erie invested?
1108 — What was the event of the assault made by the enemy?
1109 — What of the sortie made by the besieged?
1110 275 When was the siege abandoned?
1111 — When did general Izard arrive from Plattsburgh?
1112 — What expeditions proceeded from Canada?
1113 — What was the object of each?
1114 — What took place at the ford?
1115 276 What was the result of the battle on the lake?
1116 — What did the British army then do?
1117 — What actions occurred at sea?
1118 277 Where were great exertions made for defence?
1119 — When did the main body of the enemy land?
1120 — Where did the Americans make a stand?
1121 — What occurred there?
1122 — Whither did general Winder retreat?
1123 — When did the enemy enter Washington?
1124 278 What was their conduct their?
1125 — What took place at Alexandria?
1126 — What did Ross next undertake?
1127 — What was his fate?
1128 279 How was the fleet received?
1129 — What was the event of this expedition?
1130 — When did the convention meet at Hartford?
1131 — What was enumerated and proposed in their address?
1132 280 What information was received from Ghent?
1133 — What measures did Congress adopt?
1134 — Who performed the duties of Secretary of War?
1135 — Who was appointed Secretary of the Treasury?
1136 — What force arrived at Pensacola?

Qs. Pg.

1137 280 What was it permitted to do?
1138 — What did general Jackson do?
1139 — What information did he receive at Mobile?
1140 — What step did he then take?
1041 — What did he find the condition of New-Orleans?
1142 281 What was his conduct?
1143 — Where did the enemy take a position, December 22nd?
1144 — What occurred in the evening of the 23rd?
1145 282 Where did Jackson erect fortifications?
1146 — Were these assaulted? With what success?
1147 — When was the last assault made? Describe it.
1148 — What was the amount of loss on each side?
1149 283 What took place on the west side of the river?
1150 — What course did general Lambert then take?
1151 — When was peace concluded?
1152 — What were the provisions of the treaty?
1153 — What victories were achieved at sea?

APPENDIX.

1154 284 By what was the era of the settlement of this country distinguished?
1155 — What distinguished the country whence the settlers came?
1156 — To what class did they belong?
1157 — What powerful establishments existed in Europe?
1158 — What conduct did they pursue?
1159 — Were these establishments transferred to America?
1160 285 What doctrine prevailed in Europe?
1161 — What was the nature and consequence of this doctrine?
1162 — What is meant by the law of primogeniture?
1163 — What was the operation of this law?
1164 — Does this doctrine, or this law, exist in the United States?
1165 — What is said of the systems of government established in the colonies?
1166 286 In what is the contrast greatest between the European and American systems of government?
1167 — What does the military peace establishment of Great Britain cost?
1168 — What that of the United States?
1169 — What the respective naval establishments?
1170 — What do British subjects pay individually in taxes?
1171 — What do those of the United States pay?
1172 — In what pursuits are the greatest portion of the inhabitants engaged?
1173 — What is produced in the northern states?
1174 — What in the middle and western?
1175 — What in the southern?
1176 — What number was engaged in agriculture in 1820?
1177 — What value of agricultural products was exported?
1178 — State the value of the principal articles.
1179 287 What circumstances contributed to the prosperity of commerce?
1180 — State the increase of our tonnage and revenue.
1181 — How many were engaged in commerce in 1820?
1182 — What was the amount of exports and imports in 1823?
1183 — What in 1807?
1084 — Why has commerce declined?
1185 288 How early did the cod fishery on the American coast attract attention?

Qs. Pg.
1186 288 How many ships and seamen did the French employ in it, in 1744?
1187 — What quantity of fish did they take?
1188 — In 1760, how many vessels were fitted out from the ports of New-England?
1189 — How many seamen were employed?
1190 — What is said in relation to the negotiation of the peace of 1783?
1191 — What estimate has been made in relation to these fisheries?
1192 — What was their annual value?
1193 — Why important to the nation?
1194 — What is said of the whale fishery?
1195 289 State the value of the products of this fishery exported in 1807? In 1823?
1196 — Recite the extract from Burke's speech.
1197 — What is said of manufactures?
1098 290 What gave the first impulse to this branch of industry?
1199 — What was the amount of manufactures in 1814?
1200 — Which are the principal manufacturing states?
1201 — Which the principal manufactures?
1202 — How many were engaged in manufactures in 1820?
1203 291 What was the amount of the debt in 1790?
1204 — What in 1812?
1205 — How much was contracted in the last war?
1206 — What was the amount in 1823?
1207 — From what is the revenue principally derived?
1208 — In 1822, how much accrued from commerce?
1209 — How much from the sale of lands? How much from other sources?
1210 — What was the amount of expenditures in 1822?
1211 — What was the excess of revenue over expenditures?
1212 — What course has been pursued in Europe, in relation to education?
1213 — What in the United States?
1214 292 What law was passed in 1647, in relation to schools?
1215 — What was done when the inhabitants increased?
1216 — What is the amount of the school fund in Connecticut?
1217 — How is the interest apropriated?
1218 — What has been the effect of this system?
1219 — What is the amount of the school fund in New-York?
1220 — How is the interest appropriated?
1221 — How many scholars were taught there in 1823?
1222 — What is said of education in Virginia?
1223 293 What has the national government done in relation to education?
1224 — What is said of Academies?
1225 — When was Harvard College founded? Where?
1226 — How many volumes does the library contain?
1227 — When was Yale College founded?
1228 294 Where is it established?
1229 — How many volumes does its libraries contain?
1230 — How many other colleges are there in the Union?
1231 — What are taught in all?
1232 — What in addition are taught in some of them?
1233 — What remark has been made of the United States?
1234 — Is it just?
1235 — What direction has been given to talents in the United States?
1236 295 What celebrated inventors may America boast of?
1237 — Who are her eminent historians? Theological writers?
1238 — What political writings are spoken of?

Qs. Pg.
1239 295 What is said of American painters?
1240 296 Where are Congregationalists most numerous?
1241 — Where Presbyterians? Where Methodists? Where Roman Catholics?
1242 — What are the distinguishing traits of the American character?
1243 — What is said of the manners of Americans?
1244 297 How often does the population of the United States double?
1245 — How often that of Great Britain?
1246 — Has the augmentation of wealth and power been as rapid?
1247 — What circumstances indicate that the United States will continue to prosper?
1248 298 Yet on what does their prosperity depend?

14 DAY USE
RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED
EDUCATION–PSYCHOLOGY
LIBRARY
This book is due on the last date stamped below, or
on the date to which renewed.
Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

AUG 3 1967

LD 21A–30*m*-6,'67
(H2472s10)476

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

YA 04034

M209516
E178
.1
H3
1829
Four.
Dept.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY